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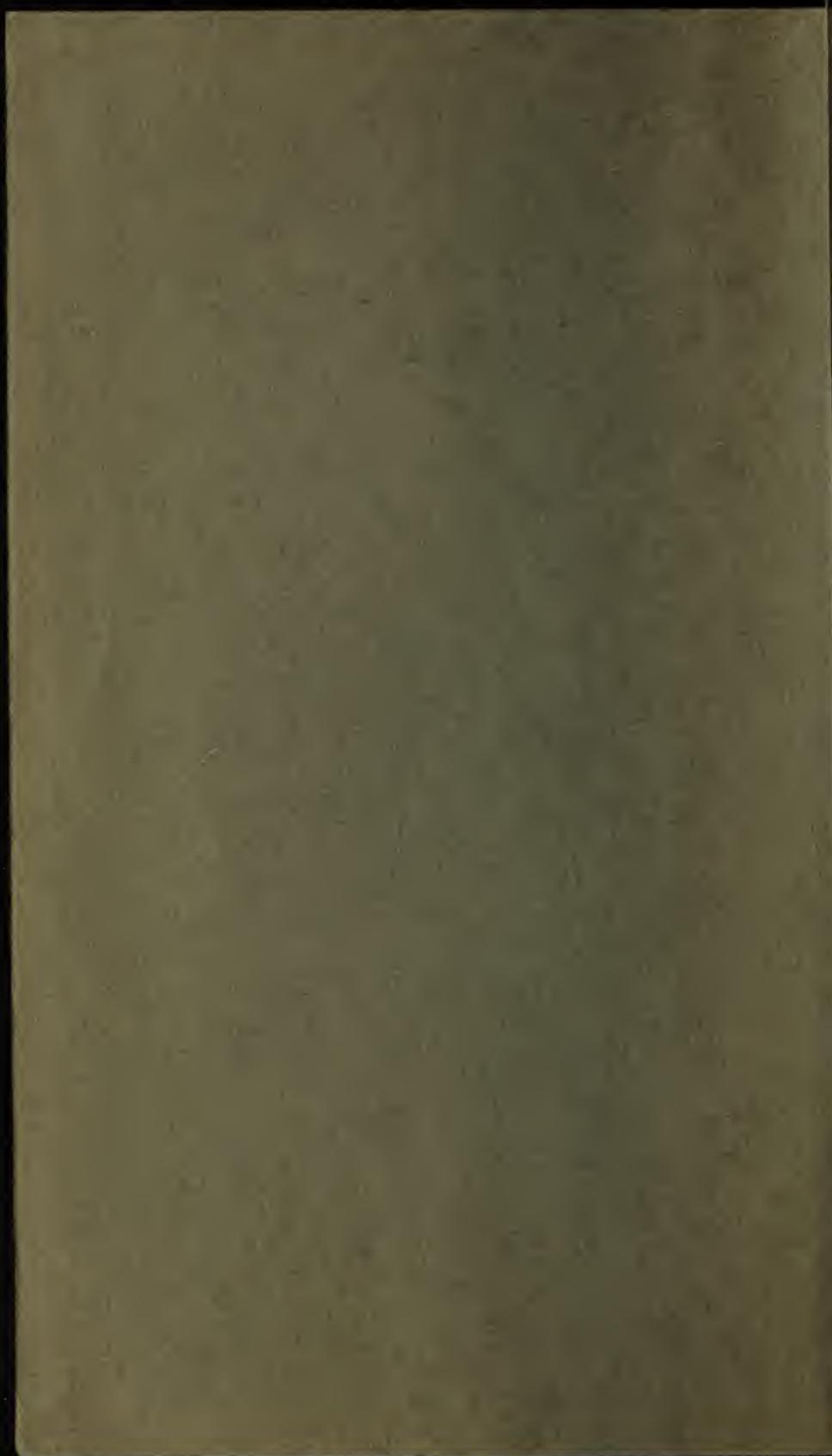
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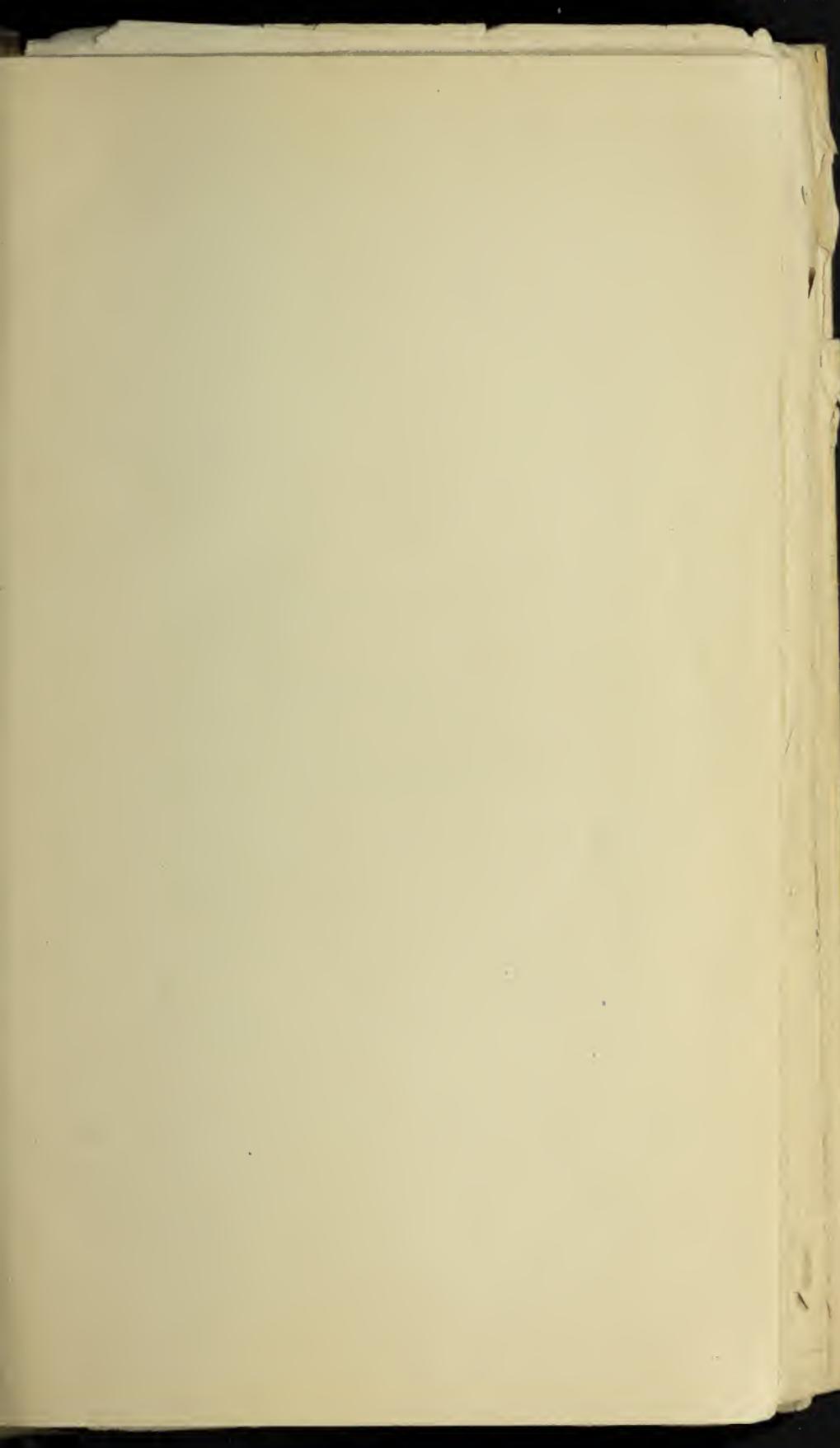
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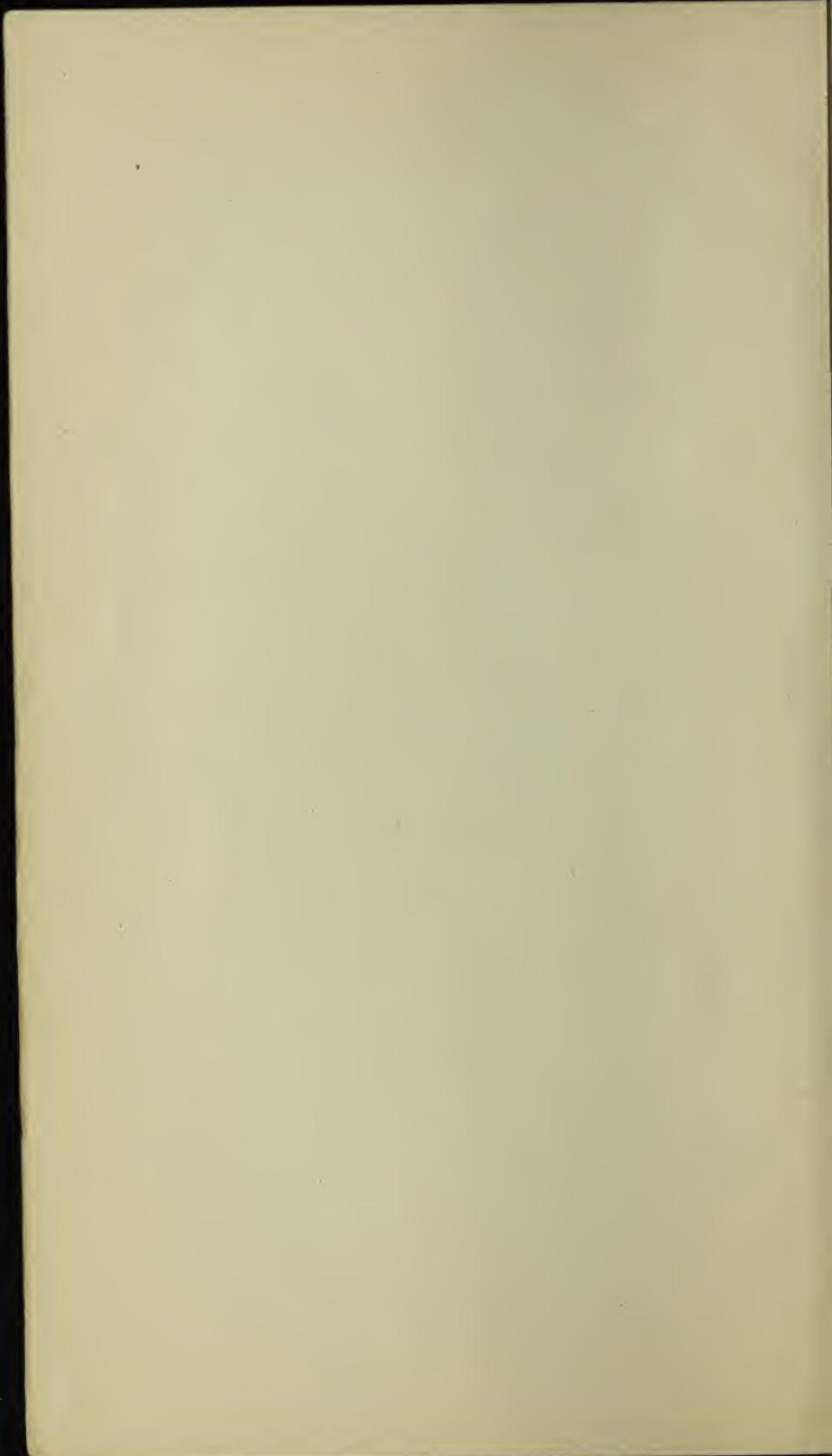
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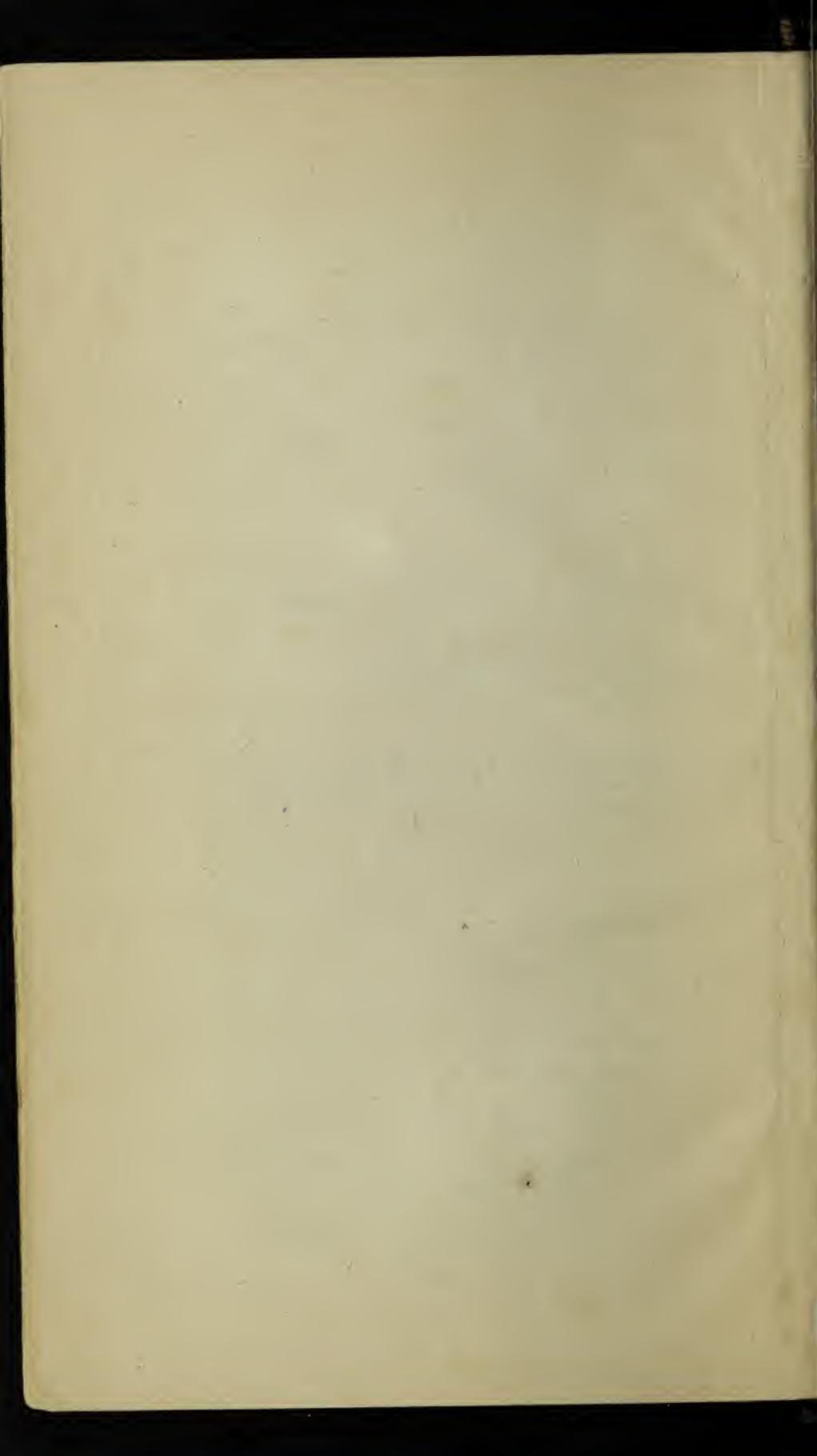
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CAII SALLUSTII CRISPI

CATILINA

ET

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.



CAII SALLUSTII CRISPI  
CATILINA ET BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

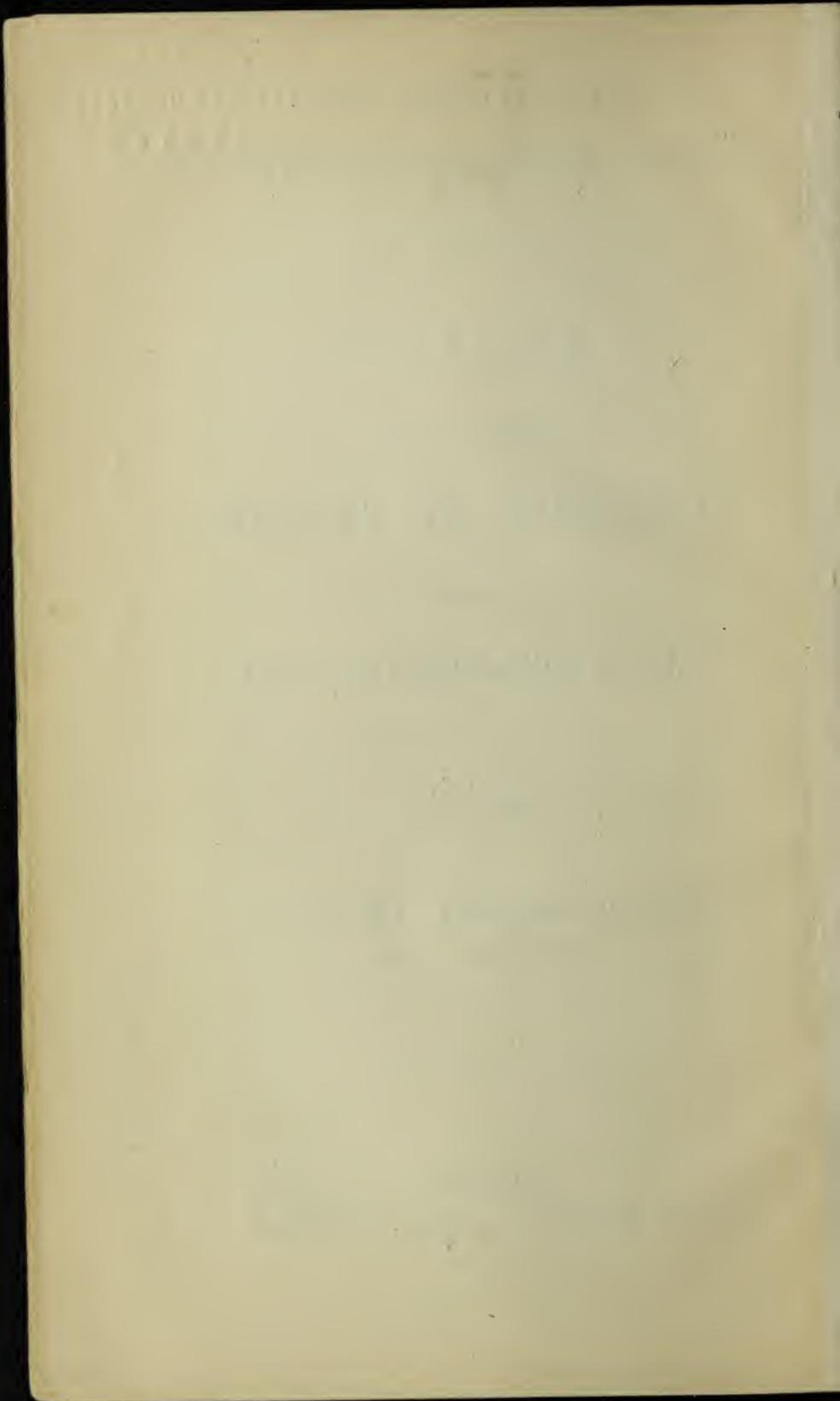
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SALLUST'S  
NARRATIVES OF THE  
CONSPIRACY OF CATILINA  
AND THE  
WAR OF ROME WITH JUGURTHA.

WITH NOTES  
BY  
WILLIAM MOWBRAY DONNE, B.A.,  
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LONDON:  
JOHN WEALE, 59, HIGH HOLBORN.  
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## P R E F A C E.

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THAT Sallust's histories of Catilina and the Jugurthine War should be complete narratives was hardly to be expected. They are *monographies* or political sketches cast in a biographical form, and intended to exhibit the corruption of the oligarchy of Rome, and the justice of its humiliation by Cæsar a few years after the suppression of the Plot. Each narrative is, accordingly, in some measure incomplete. We are not able however to add any facts to the *Jugurthine War* besides a very few already mentioned in the notes on that work, taken from Plutarch, Florus, and other writers. Sallust, indeed, gave an importance to the war of Rome with the Numidian prince which it may have deserved, but which was hardly recognized by his contemporaries. But it is not so with the *Catilina*. To this narrative, owing to the prominence it held in Cicero's estimation and in his works, we are able to furnish a supplement. As regards Catilina himself, we learn from Dion Cassius (xxxvii. 40, 41) that Antonius, after the battle, sent the great conspirator's head to Rome, in order that the public fears might be allayed, and that rumours of his being alive might not trouble or excite the Roman populace. A public thanksgiving was also decreed, and the mourning which the citizens had assumed when the Plot was first announced to them, was laid aside. For his reluctant services Antonius received the title of Imperator, and an acknowledgment to the effect that

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he had removed his former profligate companions from his friendship and the public councils.\*

On Cicero higher and better-merited honours were bestowed. (1) A decree of the Senate declared that by his wisdom, vigilance, and energy, the Commonwealth had been rescued from the most grave and imminent danger.† (2) He, first of the Romans, received the title of “Father of his Country,”—a title not many years afterwards enrolled among the appellations of the Cæsars.‡ (3) In the general thanksgiving to the Gods, for their deliverance of Rome, Cicero’s name was especially mentioned,—an honour without precedent, and one also which was imitated by the flatterers of the Emperors.§ (4) One L. Gellius proposed that a civic crown be offered to Cicero, for his merits in rescuing the citizens from projected massacre,—a distinction hitherto confined to such as had saved the life of a citizen in battle.|| (5) Capua, by the voice of its Decurions, adopted Cicero as its patron, and dedicated to him a golden statue: and many other considerable cities of Italy presented him with crowns of gold.\*\* These circumstances are omitted by Sallust, either because of his personal or political disagreement with Cicero, or because, when he published his narratives, the great Consul’s popularity had waned.†† Constantius Felicius Durantius, in his ‘*Historia Conjurationis Catilinariae*,’ collected the facts which Sallust purposely or carelessly omitted from his history.

\* Dion, l.c.; Cicero in Catilin. iii. 6: “Atque etiam collegæ meo laus impertitur, quod eos qui hujus conjurationis participes fuissent, a suis et a reipublicæ consiliis removisset.”

† In Catilin. iii. 6; Pro Sulla, c. 30.

‡ Juvenal, Sat. viii. 244; Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 30: “Salve, primus omnium PARENTES PATRIÆ appellate, primus in toga triumphum, linguæque lauream merite!” Plutarch, Cicero, c. 22. Comp. Cicero in Pison. c. 3; Philipp. ii. 5.

§ In Catilin. iii. 6; Pro Sulla, c. 30; In Pison. c. 3; Philipp. xiv. 8.

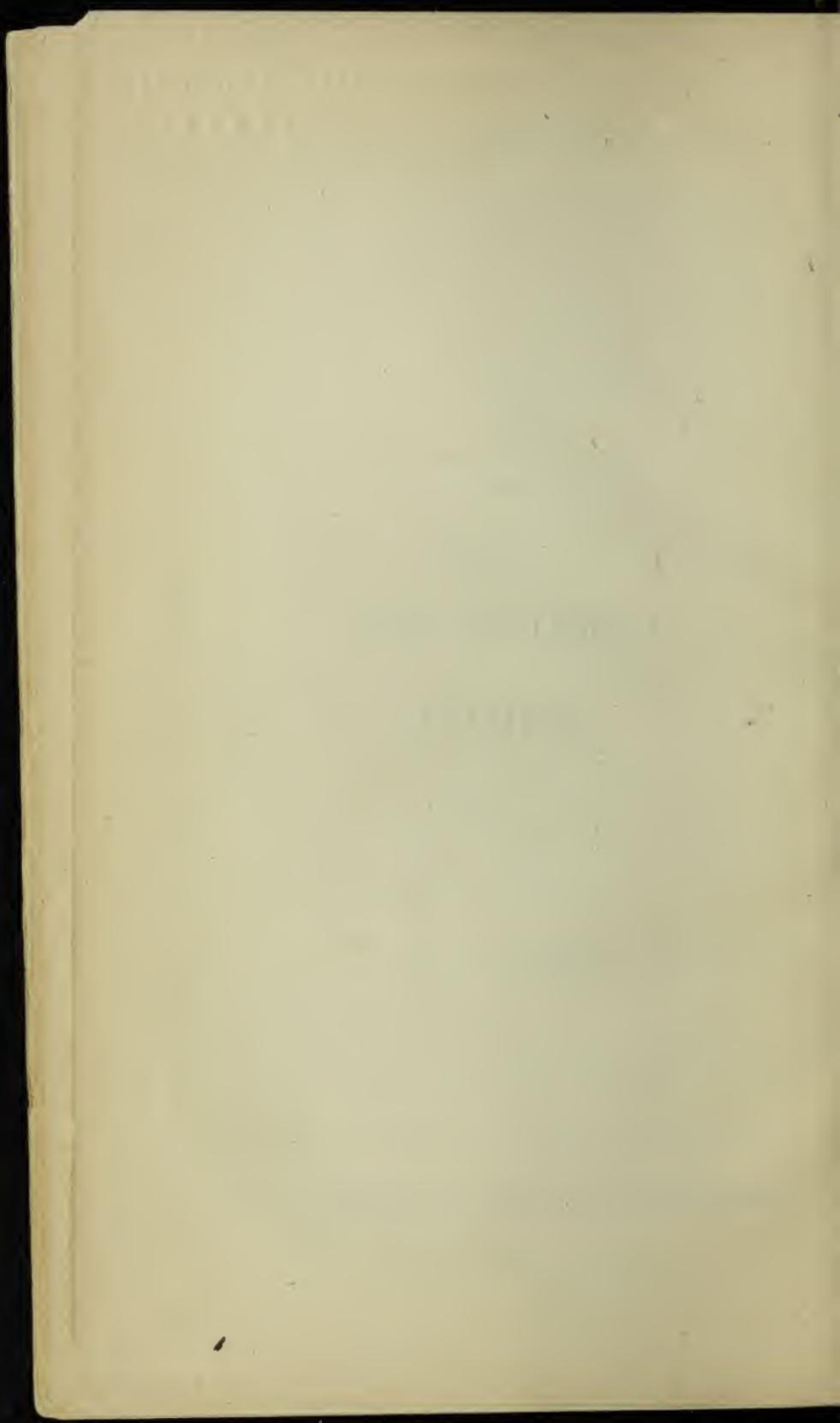
|| Cicero in Pison. c. 3; Philipp. ii. 21; Gellius, Noct. Attic. v. 6.

\*\* In Pison. c. 11.

†† Comp. Gerlach, Sallust, vol. ii., ‘*De Fide atque Auctoritate Sallustii in Conjuratione Catilinæ enarranda*,’ p. 208.

C. SALLUSTII CRISPI

CATILINA.



## INTRODUCTION.

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THE ‘Catilina’ or ‘Bellum Catilinarium’ of Sallust is a history of the conspiracy of L. Sergius Catilina against the Senatorian Government of Rome, b.c. 63. It is perhaps one of a series of monographies or separate historical treatises by the same writer, who seems to have preferred this piecemeal fashion of narrative to longer and more connected compositions. From the fragments which have come down to us of other narratives by Sallust (‘Historiarum Libri Quinque’), it would appear that he described in detached portions, and probably at different periods of his life, the following periods in Roman annals, beginning with the Jugurthine War, b.c. 111, and closing with the Catilinarian Plot in b.c. 63. He would thus have narrated, besides the events contained in his unmutilated treatises—(1) the period from the commencement of the Marsic War, b.c. 90, to the death of Sulla, b.c. 78; (2) the tumults caused by the consul M. Æmilius Lepidus after Sulla’s death; (3) the war with Sertorius, which ended b.c. 72; (4) the Mithridatic War, which terminated b.c. 63; and lastly, the Bellum Catilinarium. Whether he published these several essays in chronological order is uncertain: they may have been arranged by a grammarian afterwards. The Catilina and Jugurthine wars were apparently accounted not only by critics as the best portions of this series, but also preferred to the others by the author himself, for they do not seem at any period to have been reckoned—as in chronological order they would be—the first and the last sections of his history of the Roman Commonwealth during a period of forty-eight years.

C. Crispus Sallustius was born in b.c. 86; consequently he may be regarded as contemporary with the later portion of the Sertorian War, with the entire Mithridatic War, and with the

preliminaries, progress, and failure of the Catilinarian Conspiracy. The admiration excited by his style, which even in Seneca's age\* was imitated by persons who affected archaisms, and thought more of *how* than *what* they wrote, has doubtless been the cause of the preservation of so much of Sallust's compositions,—much more, in comparison with his brevity, than has been preserved of either Livy or Tacitus. Yet Sallust, from the opportunities he enjoyed, would have been a much better narrator of facts, had he been less ambitious as a writer; and a better writer, had he studied simplicity rather than a curt, epigrammatic, and somewhat monotonous style.

Valuable as his evidence might have been in helping us to understand the extraordinary crisis at Rome which rendered Cicero's consulship so memorable, Sallust really throws but little light upon the causes or the objects of this conspiracy beyond what we derive from the exaggerated statement of Cicero himself. The phrases of the orator we read with allowance for the license of the Bar and the prejudices of the partisan. Yet hardly less caution is needful in accepting the statements of the historian. We are required by him to believe that a man long and unusually infamous for his crimes was at the same time a man of no ordinary power and influence with the leading men of all parties; that Cicero at one time thought of defending, that Cæsar secretly favoured him; and in vain, after reading Sallust's account of the plot, do we ask ourselves to which of the acknowledged factions of the time Catilina belonged or affected to adhere. It cannot have been the Senatorian party then in power, for that he aimed at extinguishing. It cannot have been the popular or Marian faction, for his principal supporters were Sulla's friends or veterans, and, according to Sallust, he conceived the atrocious project of general arson and massacre, which would have decimated and impoverished the Marian party especially. As little can he have aspired to resuscitate the Italian faction, since there are no traces of his proffering to his adherents or his dupes the bait of admission to the franchise of Rome. Neither can he have directly or indirectly designed to secure a dictatorship for Cn. Pompeius, since his object was to raise himself to Sulla's vacant place. Crassus indeed was com-

\* Seneca, Epist. 114:—“ Hæc vitia unus quis inducit, sub quo tunc eloquentia est; ceteri imitantur, et alter alteri tradunt. Sic Sallustio vigente, amputatae sententiæ, et verba, ante expectatum cadentia, et obscura brevitas fuere pro cultu. Arruntius, vir raræ frugalitatis, qui Historias Belli Punici scripsit, fuit Sallustianus, et in illud genus nitens.”

monly said to have been implicated in the plot, but with little probability, since the most opulent man in the Commonwealth would doubtless have been one of the first victims of such a proscription as Catilina, had he succeeded, would have proclaimed. It is perhaps impossible to discover, and therefore idle to speculate upon, at this distance of time, and with the imperfect materials at our command, the real drift of this conspiracy. But illustrious men and successful crimes have in all ages been repeated or parodied by inferior plotters; and we venture to surmise that Catilina's object was to tread in Sulla's footsteps, but with a more limited and even less authorized end in view; for that great re-actionist endeavoured to throw Rome back to the days when no plebeian could hold a curule magistracy, and the Commons did not possess even a negative voice upon the measures of the Government. He saw in his political vision the patrician estate such as it existed in the first century of the Commonwealth. Catilina seems to have projected a Senate composed of his own immediate followers,\* who should be dependent on himself as autocrator. With these, supported by Sulla's old soldiers and numerous freedmen,† he might have formed at least a provisional government, against which no counterpoise, so long as Pompeius was with the army in the East, could have been brought, for the wars with Sertorius and Spartacus had proved the feebleness of the Senate against an armed antagonist. Such a government he would have wielded long enough to glut the cupidity of his followers by a general confiscation of the lands and money of the wealthy, and his own revenge by the massacre of his enemies. His accomplices were indeed mostly profligate nobles, and hence the plot obtained afterwards the title of the "Patrician Crime."‡ But there is no evidence that Catilina ever purposed to reorganize the Senate, to release the Equites—the moneyed class—from their political disabilities, or to regenerate, by infusion of Italian or provincial blood, the estate of the Commons. Sallust (we exclude Cicero in this case from

\* This was no novel design. The agitator Servius Sulpicius in B.C. 88 called his band of adherents his "Anti-Senatus." Plutarch, Marius, c. xxxv.—'Αυτὸς δὲ ἔξακοσίους (about the number of the Senate at that time) μὲν εἶχε περὶ αὐτὸν τὰν ἵππικῶν οἰλον δορυφόρους καὶ τούτους ἀντισύκλητον ὀνομάζειν.

† Sulla emancipated at one stroke no less than 10,000 of his foreign soldiers and slaves, the sweepings of the slave-markets or the victims of the cramps of Asia. Each of these worthies was named after his patron Cornelius.

Seneca, *Sessor.* vi.—Patriciumque nefas extinctum et poena Cethegi.

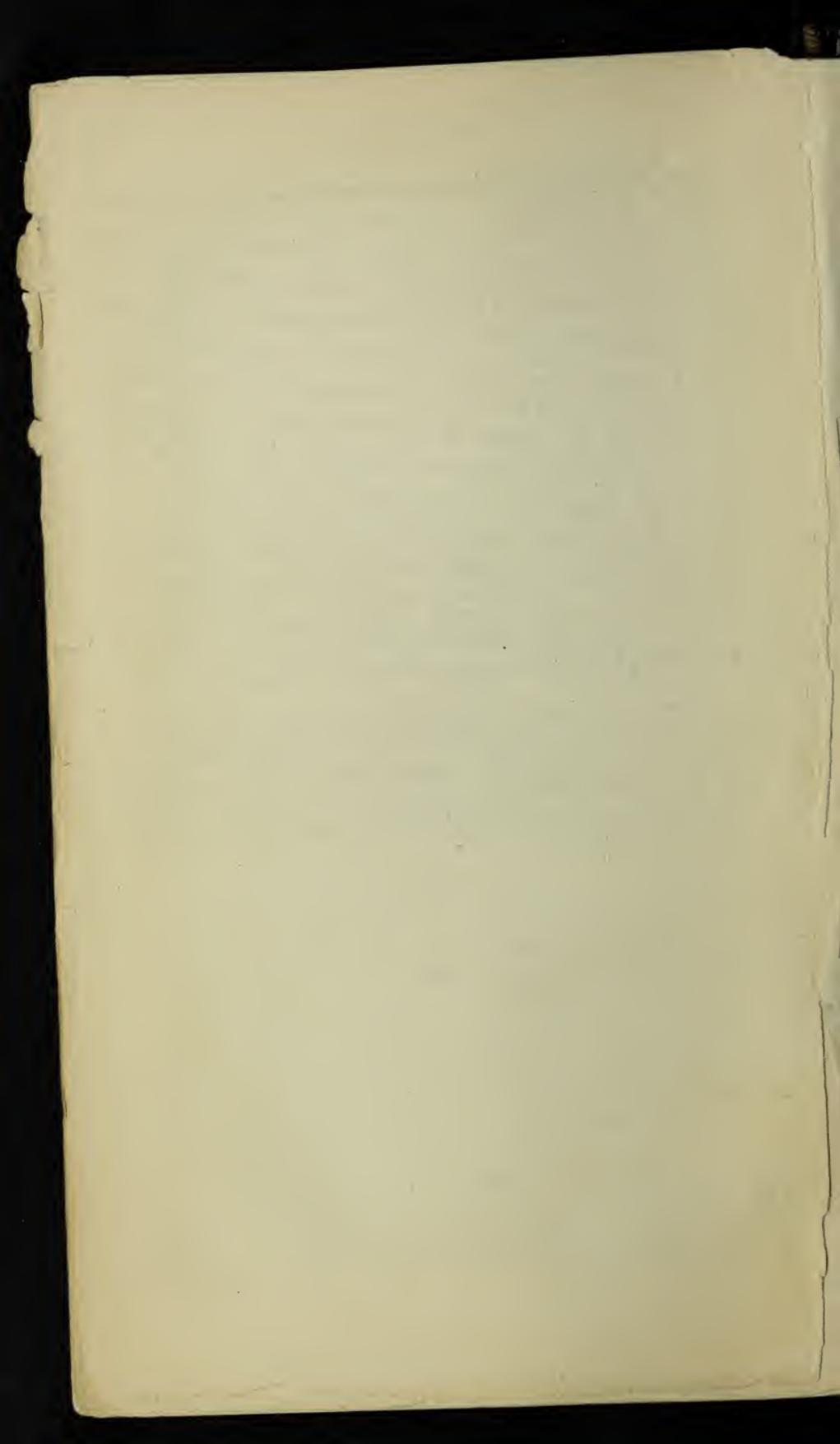
the witness-box) debars us from the supposition that the Marian party, with Cæsar at its head, can have sympathized with a scheme of which they must have been the first victims, since he repeatedly mentions the regimen and license of Sulla's times as the subject of hope and imitation to Lentulus, Cethegus, and the other conspirators. Yet, deeply criminal as Catilina doubtless was, we may hesitate to believe that he was the murderer of his own son, or the general promoter of profligacy and murder among the young nobles of his time; for of the two principal witnesses against him, Sallust, as a Cæsarian, was bound to show that so monstrous a conspiracy can have had no attractions for the humane and provident Julius; while unless Catilina were a prodigy of wickedness, even in an eminently violent and corrupt generation, Cicero's extraordinary measures in extinguishing the plot would have been almost as criminal in the eye of the law as the designs which he crushed by the swords of the legions or the midnight execution in the Carcer Tullianum. And we may make this allowance with the less scruple, since there were no bounds to Roman invective; and imputations that would make a modern assembly quail, were the common weapons of the orators and statesmen of the eighth century of Rome.

The commencement of this narrative of the Catilinarian Conspiracy, like that of the Jugurthine War, has little actual connection with the chapters which follow it. The author seems anxious to introduce himself, rather than his work, to the reader. Did we however possess the narratives of the Latin historians who preceded Sallust, we might probably discover, since he was a “fautor veterum,”—an imitator of old words and fashions,—that such reflections and philosophical platitudes were in vogue among the *literati* of the time. Every Roman who took pen in hand was more or less an orator, conceiving himself in the presence of an audience, and accordingly aiming at eloquence fully as much as at the accuracy or the arrangement of his materials. The inference to be drawn from the four introductory chapters is, that every man should keep his mind on the stretch by some worthy occupation or other: the practical man by performing actions worth relating, the contemplative man by recording them; and no mean task either, as the historian observes.

He then proceeds to state briefly his motives for undertaking the composition of history. With the fifth chapter begins the personal history of Catilina; but this breaks off abruptly and rather inartistically into a summary of the acts

of the Roman people from the earliest times to the first dawnings of the Conspiracy. At chapter xvii. the main narrative is resumed, and, with the exception of the following sections,—cc. xviii., xix.; xxxvii., xxxviii., xxxix.; liii., liv.—continues uninterruptedly to the end. A few of the deficiencies in Sallust's account of the Conspiracy will be mentioned, at the proper places, in the following notes. The historian had an indifferent reputation for both public and private morality in his own day, part of which he may have owed to his zeal as a Cæsarian; but we have the means neither of supporting nor rebutting the charges brought against him. In an age of almost universal license and corruption, and when every senator regarded the subjects of Rome as his lawful prey, it is far from improbable that Sallust in his younger days may have been notorious for his intrigues, and oppressive in his provincial administration. But at the maturer period of his life, when he composed history, he may have looked back with regret upon his earlier excesses. His character as a man and a writer is impartially drawn in Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography,' under the heads of **SALLUSTIUS**, **CATILINA**, **JUGURTHA**.

Gerlach's text has generally been adopted in this edition: but it has not been thought advisable to follow his mode of spelling many Latin words; eccentricities of this description only add to the difficulties of the youthful student, without affording him any compensation in the better knowledge of an author or his subject.



## CAII SALLUSTII CRISPI

### C A T I L I N A.

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I. Omnes homines, qui sese student <sup>on be</sup> prestare ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet, ne vitam silentio transeant veluti pecora, quae natura prona atque ventri obedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est; animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur; alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum belluis commune est. Quo mihi rectius videtur ingenii quam virium opibus gloriam querere et, quoniam vita ipsa, qua fruimur, brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxime longam efficere. (Nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis, virtus clara æternaque habetur.) Sed diu magnum inter mortales certamen fuit, vi-ne corporis an virtute animi res militaris magis procederet. Nam et prius quam incipias consulto, et ubi consulueris mature facto opus est. Ita utrumque per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio eget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit), diversi, pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant; etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur, sua cuique satis placebant. Postea vero quam in Asia Cyrus, in Græcia Lacedæmonii et Athenienses cœpere urbes, nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putare, tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum, in bello plurimum ingenium posse. Quodsi regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita ut in bello valeret, æquabilius atque constantius sese res humanæ haberent, neque aliud alio ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneret. Nam imperium facile his artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et æquitate ludo atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur. Quæ homines arant, navigant, ædificant,

virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales dediti ventri atque somno, indocti atque inculti vitam sicuti peregrinantes transegere ; quibus profecto contra naturam corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta aestimo, quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enimvero is demum mihi vivere atque frui anima videtur, qui, aliquo negotio intentus, praeclari facinoris aut artis bonae famam querit. Sed in magna copia rerum aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

III. Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ ; etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est ; vel pace vel bello clarum fieri licet ; et qui fecere et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudquam par gloria sequitur scriptorem et actorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere ; primum quod facta dictis exæquanda sunt : dehinc quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malevolentia et invidia dicta putant ; ubi de magna virtute atque gloria bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit, supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis dicit. Sed ego adolescentulus, initio, sicuti plerique, studio ad rempublicam latus sum, ibique mihi multa adversa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigeabant. Quæ tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium, tamen, inter tanta vitia, imbecilla ætas ambitione corrupta tenebatur : ac me, quum ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem, qua ceteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.

IV. Igitur, ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit et mihi reliquam ætatem a republica procul habendum decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere, neque vero agrum colendo aut venando, servilibus officiis, intentum ætatem agere ; sed a quo incepto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quæque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere ; eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ, animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinæ conjuratione, quam verissime potero, paucis absolvam : nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existimo sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cuius hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

V. Lucius Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, discordia civilis grata fuere, ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, algoris, vigiliæ, supra quam cuiquam credibile est. Animus

audax, subdolus, varius, cuius rei libet simulator ac dissimilator; alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum. Vastus animus immoda-  
rata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc post do-  
minationem Lucii Sullae lubido maxima invaserat reipublicae  
capiendae, neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi reg-  
num pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis  
magisque in dies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris et conscientia  
scelerum, quæ utraque his artibus auxerat, quas supra me-  
moravi. Incitabant præterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos  
pessima ac diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexa-  
bant. Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis  
tempus admoruit, supra repetere ac paucis instituta majorum  
domi militiaeque, quomodo rempublicam habuerint quantamque  
reliquerint, et ut paulatim immutata ex pulcherrima pessima  
ac flagitiosissima facta sit, disserere.

VI. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque ha-  
buere initio Trojani, qui, Ænea duce, profugi sedibus incertis  
vagabantur, cumque his Aborigines, genus hominum agreste,  
sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi post-  
quam in una mœnia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua,  
alius alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est quam facile  
coaluerint. Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris  
aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque  
mortaliū habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur  
reges populique finitimi bello tentare, pauci ex amicis auxilio  
esse; nam ceteri metu perculsi a periculis aberant. At Romani  
domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari,  
hostibus obviam ire, libertatem, patriam parentesque armis  
tegere. Post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque  
amicis auxilia portabant, magisque dandis quam accipiendis  
beneficiis amicitias parabant. Imperium legitimum, nomen  
imperii regium habebant; delecti, quibus corpus annis infir-  
mum, ingenium sapientia validum erat, reipublicæ consultab-  
ant; hi vel ætate vel curæ similitudine patres appellabantur.  
Post, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandæ libertatis  
atque augendæ reipublicæ fuerat, in superbiam dominatio-  
nemque se convertit, immutato more, annua imperia binosque  
imperatores sibi fecere; eo modo minime posse putabant per-  
licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

VII. Sed ea tempestate cœpere se quisque magis extollere  
magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni  
quam mali suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus for-  
midolosa est. Sed civitas incredibile memoratu est adepta

peritate quantum brevi creverit; tanta cupido gloriæ incessat. Jam primum juventus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in armis per laborem usu militiam discebat, magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in scortis atque conviviis lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non labor insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus; virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriæ maximum certamen inter ipsos erat: sic se quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere, conspici, dum tale facinus ficeret, properabat; eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant; laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberales erant; gloriæ ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis maximas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbes natura munitas pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.

VIII. Sed profecto Fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex lubidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestæ, sicuti ego aestimo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum, qui ea fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum ea verbis potuere extollere præclara ingenia. At populo Romano nunquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissimus quisque maxime negotiosus erat; ingenium nemo sine corpore exercet; optimus quisque, facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis benefacta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

IX. Igitur domi militiæque boni mores colebantur; concordia maxima, minima avaritia erat; ius bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat. Jurgia, discordias, similitates cum hostibus exercebant, cives cum civibus de virtute certabant; in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenierat, æquitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxima documenta hæc habeo, quod in bello saepius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius revocati proelio excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere aut pulsi loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, quod beneficiis quam metu imperium agitabant, et, accepta injuria, ignoscere quam persecui malebant.

X. Sed ubi labore atque justitia respublica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes feræ et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, æmula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terræque patebant, sævire fortuna ac miscere omnia

cœpit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, his otium divitiæque, optandæ aliis, oneri miseriæque fuere. Igitur, primo pecunia, deinde imperii cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem ceterasque artes bonas subvertit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. Ambitio multos mortales falsos fieri subagit, aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere, amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re, sed ex commode aestimare, magisque vultum quam ingenium bonum habere. Hæc primo paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari; post, ubi contagio quasi pestilenta invasit, civitas immutata, imperium ex justissimo atque optimo crudele intolerandum factum.

XI. Sed primo magis ambitio, quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat, quod tamen vitium proprius virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium bonus et ignavus æque sibi exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic quia bonæ artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecunia studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit; ea, quasi venenis malis imbuta, corpus animumque virilem effeminat, semper infinita, insatiabilis est, neque copia neque inopia minuitur. Sed postquam L. Sulla, armis recepta republica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit, rapere omnes, trahere, domum alias, alias agrœ cupere, neque modum neque modestiam victores habere, fœda crudeliaque in cives facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morum majorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat; loca amena voluptaria facile in otio feroces militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cælata mirari, ea privatum ac publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriæ adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant; ne illi corruptis moribus victoriæ temperarent.

XII. Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœpere et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur; hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberet, innocentia pro malevolentia duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invaseret; rapere, consumere, sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere, pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere. Operæ pretium est, quum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exædificatas, visere templo deorum, quæ nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales,

fecere. Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant, neque victis quidquam præter injuriæ licentiam eripiebant. At hi contra ignavissimi homines per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quæ fortissimi viri victores reliquerant; prouinde quasi injuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti.

XIII. Nam quid ea memorem, quæ nisi his qui videre nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria constructa esse? Quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae; quippe quas honeste habere licebat, abu tiper turpidinem properabant. Sed lubido stupri, ganeæ ceterique cultus non minor incesserat; viri muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vescendi causa terraque marique omnia exquirere, dormire prius quam somni cupido esset, non famem aut sitim neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Hæc juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant ad facinora accedebant. Animus imbutus malis artibus haud facile lubidinibus carebat; eo profusius, modis omnibus, quæstui atque sumptui deditus erat.

XIV. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se tanquam stipatorum catervas habebat. Nam quicunque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, manu, ventre, bona patria lacaverat, quique alienum æs grande conflagraverat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret, præterea omnes undique parricidæ, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis aut pro factis judicium timentes, ad hoc quos manus atque lingua perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat, postremo omnes, quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat, hi Catiline proximi familiaresque erant. Quodsi quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat, quotidiano usu atque illecebris facile par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxime adolescentium familiaritates appetebat; eorum animi molles ætate et fluxi dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam ut cujusque studium ex ætate flagrabat, aliis scorta præbère, aliis canes atque equos mercari, postremo neque sumptui neque modestiæ suæ parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret. Scio fuisse nonullos qui ita existimarent, juventutem, quæ domum Catiline frequentabat, parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse; sed ex aliis rebus magis quam quod cuiquam id compertum foret, hæc fama valebat.

XV. Jam primum adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virginè nobili, cum sacerdote Vestæ, alia hujuscemodi contra jus fasque. Postremo captus amore Aureliae Orestillæ, cujus præter formam nihil unquam bonus laudavit,

*because*  
 quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulta ætate, pro certo creditur necato filio vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quæ quidem res mihi imprimis videtur causa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat; ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur color ei exsanguis, fœdi oculi, *medio*, citus modo, modo tardus incessus; prorsus in facie vultuque recordia inerat.

XVI. Sed juventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testes signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere, post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat; si causa peccandi in præsens minus suppetebat, nihil minus insontes sicuti, santes circumvenire, jugulare; scilicet ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod æs alienum per omnes terras ingens erat, et quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriæ veteris memores civile bellum exoptabant, opprimendæ reipublicæ consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus; Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris belli gerebat; ipsi consulatum petenti magna spes; senatus nihil sane intentus; tutæ tranquillæque res omnes; sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinæ.

XVII. Igitur, circiter kalendas Junias, L. Cæsare et C. Fugulo consulibus, primo singulos appellare, hortari alios, alios tentare; opes suas, imparatam rempublicam, magna præmia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt quæ voluit, in unum omnes convocat, quibus maxima necessitudo et plurimum audaciæ inerat. Eo convenere senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Servius Sullæ, Servi filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius; præterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius; ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant præterea complures paulo occultius consilii hujuscet participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam inopia aut aliqua necessitudo. Ceterum juventus pleraque, sed maxime nobilium, Catilinæ inceptis favebat; quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum, quam pacem malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse quia Cn. Pompeius invitus ipsi magnum exercitum ductabat, cuiusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere, simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

XVIII. Sed antea item conjuravere pauci contra rempublicam, in quibus Catilina fuit; de qua quam verissime potero, dicam. L. Tullo et M. Lepido consulibus, P. Autronius et P. Sulla designati consules, legibus ambitus interrogati poenas dederant. Post paulo Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consultum petere, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adolescentis nobilis, summæ audaciæ, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rempublicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc Catilina et Autronius circiter nonas Decembres consilio communicato parabant in Capitolio, kalendis Januariis, L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules interficere, ipsi, fascibus coruptis, Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. Ea re cognita, rursus in nonas Februarias consilium cædis transtulerant. Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. Quodni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die, post conditam urbem Romam, pessimum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit.

XIX. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quæstor pro prætore missus est, admittente Crasso, quod eum infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat; quippe foedum hominem a republica procul esse volebat; simul quia boni complures præsidium in eo putabant, et jam tum potentia Pompei formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens, occisus est. Sunt qui ita dicunt, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia barbaros nequivisse pati; alii autem equites illos, Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes voluntate ejus Pisonem adgressos; nunquam Hispanos præterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia sæva multa ante perppersos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. De superiori conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. Catilina, ubi eos, quos paulo ante memoravi, convenisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa sæpe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens universos appellare et cohortari, in abditam partem ædium secessit, atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujuscemodi habuit. “Ni virtus fidesque vestra spectata mihi forent, nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio in manibus frustra fuissent: neque ego ter ignaviam aut vana ingenia incerta pro certis captarem. Id quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortis indosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maximum atque pulcherri-  
um facinus incipere, simul quia vobis eadem quæ mihi bona

malaque esse intellexi; nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea  
 demum firma amicitia est. Sed ego quæ mente agitavi omnes  
 jam antea diversi auditis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis ani-  
 mus accenditur, quum considero, quæ conditio vitæ futura sit,  
 nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam postquam res-  
 publica in paucorum potentium jus atque ditionem concessit,  
 semper illis reges, tetrarchæ, vinctigales esse, populi, nationes  
 stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, streui, boni, nobiles atque  
 ignobiles vulgus fuimus sine gratia, sine auctoritate, iis obnoxii,  
 quibus, si respublika valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis  
 gratia, potentia, honos, divitiae apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi vo-  
 lunt; nobis reliquere pericula, repulsas, judicia, egestatem.  
 Quæ quoisque tandem patiemini fortissimi viri? nonne emori  
 per virtutem præstat quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam,  
 ubi alienæ superbiæ ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere?  
 Verum enimvero, pro deum atque hominum fidem, victoria in  
 manu vobis est; viget ætas, animus valet; contra illis annis  
 atque divitiis omnia consenserunt. Tantummodo incepto opus  
 est; cetera res expediet. Et enim quis mortalium, cui virile  
 ingenium est, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas pro-  
 fundant in extruendo mari et montibus coæquandis, nobis rem  
 familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas aut amplius  
 domos continuare, nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse?  
 quum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia ædi-  
 ficant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant,  
 tamen summa lubidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt. At  
 nobis est domi inopia, foris æs alienum, mala res, spes multo  
 asperior; denique quid reliqui habemus præter miseram ani-  
 mam? Quin igitur expurgescimini? en illa, illa, quam sæpe  
 optastis, libertas, præterea divitiae, decus, gloria in oculis sita  
 sunt. Fortuna omnia ea victoribus præmia posuit. Res, tem-  
 pus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica, magis quam oratio  
 mea, vos hortantur. Vel imperatore vel milite me utemini;  
 neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. Haec ipsa, ut spero,  
 vobiscum una consul agam, nisi forte me animus fallit, et vos  
 servire magis quam imperare parati estis.”

XXI. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde  
 omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tametsi illis  
 quieta movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulavere  
 plerique, uti proponeret, quæ conditio belli foret, quæ præmia  
 armis peterent, quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum  
 Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium,  
 magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quæ bellum atque  
 libido victorum fert. Præterea, esse in Hispania citeriore

Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes; petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum; cum eo se consulem initium agendi facturum. Ad hoc maledictis increpabat omnes bonos, suorum unumquemque nominans laudare; admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suæ, complures periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanæ, quibus ea prædæ fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacres videt, cohortatus, ut petitionem suam curæ haberent, conventum dimisit.

XXII. Fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habita, quum ad jusjurandum populares sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse; inde quum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in sollemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, atque eo dictitat<sup>e</sup> fecisse, quo inter se magis fidi forent, alius alii tanti facinoris consci<sup>i</sup>. Nonnulli ficta et hæc et multa præterea existimabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quæ postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui pœnas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parū comperta est.

XXIII. Sed in ea conjuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus, quem censores senatu probri gratia moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam audacia; neque reticere, quæ audierat, neque suamet ipse sclera occultare, prorsus neque dicere neque facere quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo; cui quum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montesque polliceri coepit et minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret, postremo agitare ferocius quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiae Curii causa cognita, tale periculum reipublicæ haud occultum habuit, sed sublato auctore de Catilinæ conjuratione quæ quoque modo audierat compluribus narravit. Ea res in primis studia hominum accedit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia æstuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum quamvis egregius homo novus adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere.

XXIV. Igitur, comitiis habitis, consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius, quod factum primo populares conjurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinæ furor minuebatur, sed in dies plura agitare, arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare, pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide (sumptam) mutuam Fæsulus

taken up

ad Manlium quandam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciendi. Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur, mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primo ingentes sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant, post ubi ætas tantummodo quæstui neque luxuriæ modum fecerat, æs alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitium urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi vel interficere.

XXV. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe virilis audacie facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro, liberis satis fortunata fuit; litteris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere et saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probæ, multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ sunt. Sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit; pecuniæ an famæ minus parceret, haud facile discerneret; lubidine sic accensa, ut sæpius peteret viros quam peteretur. Sed ea sæpe antehac fidem prædicerat, creditum objuraverat, cædis conscientia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia præceps abierat. Verum ingenium eius haud absurdum; posse versus facere, focum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci; prorsus multæ fræctæ multusque lépos inerat.

XXVI. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilo minus in proximum annum consulatum petebat, sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamei ad cavendum dolus aut astutiæ deerant. Namque a principio consulatus sui, multa pollicendo, per Fulviam effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinæ sibi proderet. Ad hoc collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciæ perpulerat, ne contra rempublicam sentiret; circum se præsidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, et Catilinæ neque petitio neque insidiæ, quas consuli fecerat, prospere cessere, constituit bellum facere. et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam, quæ occulte tentaverat, aspera foedaque evenerant.

XXVII. Igitur C. Manlium Fæsulas atque in eam partem Etruriæ, Septimium quandam Camertem in agrum Picenum C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit; præterea aliud alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romæ multa simul moliri, consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere, ipse cum telo esse, item alias jubere, hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent, dies noctesque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo ubi multa agitanti nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte conju-

rationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Læcam, ibique multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet se Manlium præmisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capienda arma paraverat, item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent, seque ad exercitum proficiisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset; eum suis consiliis multum obficiere.

XXVIII. Igitur perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, C. Cornelius eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius, senator, constituere ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem ac de improviso domi suæ imparatum confodere. Curius ubi intelligit, quantum periculum consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum, qui parabatur, enuntiat. Ita illi janua prohibiti tantum facinus frustra suscepérant. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul ac dolore injuriæ novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullæ dominatione agros bona-que omnia amiserat, præterea latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat, nonnullos ex Sullanis coloniis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

XXIX. Ea quum Ciceroni nuntiarentur, anicipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus aut quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum referit, jam antea vulgi rumoribus exagitatam. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, darent operam consules, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Ea potestas per senatum more Romano magistratui maxima permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque cives, domi militiaeque imperium atque judicium summum habere; aliter sine populi jussu nulli earum rerum consuli jus est.

XXX. Post paucos dies L. Sænius, senator, in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Fæsulis allatas sibi dicebat, in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse cum magna multitudine ante diem vi kalendas Novembris. Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nuntiabant, alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. Igitur, senati decreto, Q. Marcius Rex Fæsulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque ea loca missi; hi utrius ad urbem imperatores erant, impediti ne triumpharent calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Sed prætores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum; hisque permissum, uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent. Ad hoc, si quis indica-

visset de conjuratione, quæ contra rempublicam facta erat, præmium servo libertatem et sestertia centum, libero impunitatem ejus rei et sestertia ducenta; itemque decrevere, uti gladiatioriæ familiæ Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur pro cujusque opibus, Romæ per totam urbem vigiliæ haberentur, iisque minores magistratus præsenserent.

XXXI. Quibus rebus permota civitas atque immutata urbis facies erat; ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quæ diurna quies pepererat, repente omnes tristitia invasit; festinare, trepidare, neque loco neque homini cuiquam satis credere, neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere, suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus reipublicæ magnitudine belli timor insolitus incesserat, afflictare sese, manus supplices ad cœlum tendere, miserari parvos liberos, rogitate, omnia pavere, superbia atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriæque diffidere. At Catilinæ crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi præsidia parabantur et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paullo. Postremo dissimulandi causa aut sui expurgandi, sicuti jurgio lassitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive præsentiam ejus timens sive ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicæ, quam postea (scriptam edidit). Sed ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu, voce supplici postulare, "Patiens conscripti ne quid de se temere crederent; ea familia ortum, ita se ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet; ne æstimarent, sibi, patricio homini, cuius ipsius atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita republica opus esse, quum eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romæ." Ad hoc maledicta alia quæcum adderet, obstrepare omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus: "Quoniam quidem circumventus" inquit "ab ini- micis præceps agor, incendium meum ruina extingua.

XXXII. Dein se ex curia domum proripiuit; ibi multa ipse secum volvens, quod neque insidiæ consuli procedebant et ab incendio intelligebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factu credens exercitum augere ac prius, quam legiones scriberentur, multa antecapere, quæ bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo ceterisque, quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent opes factionis confirmare, insidias consuli maturent, cædem, incendia aliaque belli facinora parent; sese propediem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit cum mandatis hujuscemodi.

XXXIII. "Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent, qui miseri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate feneratorum plerique patriæ, sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus; neque cuiquam nostrum licuit more majorum lege uti, neque amissō patrimonio liberum corpus habere, tanta sævitia feneratorum atque prætoris fuit. Sæpe majores nostri, miserti plebis Romanæ, decretis suis inopiae ejus opitulati sunt; ac novissime memoria nostra, propter magnitudinem æris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, argentum ære solutum est. Sæpe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbia magistratuū, armata a patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque dvitias petimus, quarum rerum causa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortales sunt, sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus nisi cum anima simul amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris civibus, legis præsidium, quod iniquitas prætoris eripuit, restitutatis; neve nobis eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut queramus, quoniam modo maxime ulti sanguinem nostrum pereamus."

XXXIV. Ad hæc Q. Marcius respondit: "Si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur; ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo unquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit." At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, præterea optimo cuique, litteras mittit: "Se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factio inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunæ cedere, Massiliam in exilium profisci: non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti respublica quieta foret, neve ex sua contentione sedatio oriretur." Ab his longe diversas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinæ redditas dicebat; earum exemplum infra scriptum est.

XXXV. "L. Catilina Q. Catulo. Egregia tua fides regnata, grata mihi magnis in meis periculis, fiduciam commendationi meæ tribuit. Quamobrem defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare, satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, quam n. ediusfidius veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod fructu laboris industriaeque meæ privatus statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum causam pro mea consuetudine susvere possim, quum et aliénis nominibus liberalitas Orestillæ suis filieaque copiis persolveret; sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam, meque falsa suspicione alienatum

esse sentiebam. Hoc nomine satis honestas pro meo casu spes reliquæ dignitatis conservandæ sum secutus. Plura quum scribere vellem, nuntiatum est vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo tuaeque fidei trado: eam ab injuria defendas per liberos tuos rogatus. Havéto.

XXXVI. Sed ipse paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem antea sollicitatam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in casta ad Manlium contendit. Hæc ubi Romæ comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostes judicat; ceteræ multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere, præter rerum capitalium condemnatis. Præterea decernit, uti cōsules delectum habeant, Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persecui mātūret, Cicero urbi præsidio sit. Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxime miserabile visum est, cui quum ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium atque divitiae, quæ prima mortales putant, adflurerent, fuere tamen cives, qui seque remque publicam obstinats animis perditum irent. Namque duobus senati decretis ex tanta multitudine neque præmio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinæ quisquam omnium discesserat; tanta vis mōrbi ac veluti tabes plerosque civium animos invaserat.

XXXVII. Neque solum illis aliena mens erat, qui consciī conjurationis fuerant, sed omnino cuncta plebes novarum rerum studio Catilinæ incepta probabat. Id adeo more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt, vetera odere, nova exopttant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student, turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur; quoniam egestas facile habetur sine danno. Sed urbana plebes, ea vero præceps erat de multis causis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxime præstabant, item alii per dedecora patrimonii amissis, postremo omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, hi Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant. Deinde multi memores Sullanæ victoriæ, quod ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites, ut regio victu atque cultu ætatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis foret, ex victoria talia sperabat. Præterea juventus, quæ in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori prætulerat; eos atque alios omnes malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum est homines egentes, malis moribus, maxima spe, reipublicæ juxta ac sibi consuluisse. Præterea quorum victoria

Sullæ parentes proscripti, bona erepta, jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum expectabant. Ad hoc quicunque aliarum atque senatus partium erant, perturbari rempublicam quam minus valere ipsi malebant. Id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem reverterat.

XXXVIII. Nam postquam Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus tribunicia potestas restituta est, homines adolescentes, summam potestatem nacti, quibus aetas animusque ferox erat, cœpere senatum criminando plebem exagitare, dein largiendo atque pollicitando magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope mitebatur pleraque nobilitas, se-natus specie, pro sua magnitudine. Namque uti paucis verum absolvam, post illa tempora quicunque rempublicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii sicuti populi jura defendenter, pars quo senatus auctoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulantibus, pro sua quisque potentia certabant; neque illis modestia neque modus contentionis erat; utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

XXXIX. Sed postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus est, plebis opes imminutæ, paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere; ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu ætatem agere; ceterosque judiciis terrere, quo plébem in magistratu placidus tractarent. Sed ubi primum, dubiis rebus novandi spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quodsi primo pœlio Catilina superior aut æqua manu discessisset, profecto magna clades atque calamitas rempublicam oppressisset; neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus ceteris qui plus posset imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt; in his erat A. Fulvius, senatoris filius, quem retractum ex itinere parens necari jussit. Iisdem temporibus Romæ Lentulus, sicuti Catilina præcepérat, quoscunque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se aut per alios sollicitabat, neque solum cives, sed cuiusque modi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret.

XL. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum requirat, eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli, existimans publice privatimque ære alieno oppressos, præterea, quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat atque eos noverat; itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro con-

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spexit, percunctatus pauca de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum, requirere cœpit, "quem exitum tantis malis sperarent?" Postquam videt illos queri de avaritia magistratum, accusare senatum, quod in eo auxilii nihil esset, miseriis suis remedium mortem expectare: "At ego," inquit, "vobis, si modo viri esse vultis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiatis." Hæc ubi dixit, Allobroges in maximam spem ad ducti Umbrenum orare, ut sui miseretur, nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissime facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem ære alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum D. Brutii perducit, quod foro propinqua erat neque aliena consili, propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Præterea Gabinium accersit, quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset. Eo præsentे conjurationem aperit, nominat socios, præterea multos cujusque generis innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset; deinde eos pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit.

XLI. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In altera parte erat æs alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriæ; at in altera majores opes, tutæ consilia, pro incerta spe certa præmia. Hæc illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna reipublicæ. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangæ, cuius patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicerò, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis præcepit, ut studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur, dentque operam, uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant.

XLII. Iisdem fere temporibus in Gallia Citeriore atque Ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia, motus erat. Namque illi, quos ante Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam cuncta simul agebant; nocturnis conciliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero complures Q. Metellus Celer prætor, ex senati consulto, causa cognita, in vincula conjecterat; item in Ulteriore Gallia C. Murena, qui ei provinciae legatus præerat.

XLIII. At Rōmæ Lentulus cum ceteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, ut videbatur, magnis copiis, constituerat, uti quum Catilina in agrum Fæsulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis, concione habita, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissimi invidiam optimo consuli imponeret; eo signo, proxima nocte, cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequeretur. Sed ea divisæ hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna

manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem ceterosque, quibus insidiæ parabantur, fieret; Cethagus Ciceronis januam obsideret eumque vi adgrederetur, alius autem alium; sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxima pars erat, parentes interficerent, simul cæde et incendio percussis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter hæc parata atque decreta Cethagus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum; illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere, facto, non consulto, in tali périculo opus esse, sequē, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehe mens, manu promptus erat; maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.

XLIV. Sed Allobroges, ex præcepto Ciceronis, per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt; ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio postulant jusjurandum, quod signatum ad cives perferant; aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant; Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paulo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus cum his T. Volturcum quandam Crotoniensem mittit, ut Allobroges, prius quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina data atque accepta fide societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est. "Qui<sup>s</sup>sim ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fāc cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse; consideres, quid tuæ rationes postulent; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis." Ad hoc mandata verbis dat: "Quum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata esse, quæ jusserit; ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere."

XLV. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte, qua proficiscentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino prætoribus imperat, ut in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant; rem omnem aperit, cuius gratia mittebantur, cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. Illi, homines militares, sine tumultu præsidiis collocatis, sicuti præceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venerunt et simul utrumque clamor exortus est, Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine mora prætoribus se tradunt. Volturcius, primo cohortatus ceteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit, deinde ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quod notus ei erat, postremo timidus ac vitæ diffidens, velut hostibus, sese prætoribus dedit.

XLVI. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuntios  
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consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque lætitia simul occupavere; nam lætabatur, intelligens, ~~conjuratione~~ patefacta civitatem periculis ereptam esse, (porro autem) anxius erat, dubitans, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus esset; poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdendæ reipublicæ fore credebat. Igitur, confirmato animo, vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, item quendam Cæparium Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficiisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt: Cæparius, paulo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod prætor erat, ipse manu tenens in senatum perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in ædem Concordiae venire jubet. Eo senatum advocat, magna frequentia ejus ordinis, Volturcum cum legatis introducit; Flaccum prætorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet.

XLVII. Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid aut qua de causa consilii habuisset, primo fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; post, ubi fide publica dicere jussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit docetque se, paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Cæpario socium adscitum, nihil amplius scire quam legatos; tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Servium Sullam, L. Vargunteum, multos præterea in ea conjuratione esse. Eadem Galli fatentur ac Lentulum dissimulanten coarguant, præter litteras, sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat: "ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romæ tribus Cornelii portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potiri; præterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem sæpe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore." Igitur, pérlectis litteris, quum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, uti, abdicato magistratu, Lentulus, itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis haberentur. Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum ædilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Cæsari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Cæparius (nam is paulo ante ex fuga retractus erat) Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

XLVIII. Interea, plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quæ primo cupida rerum novarum nimis bello favebat, mutata mente, Catilinæ consilia exsecrari, Ciceronem ad cælum tollere; veluti ex servitute erepta gaudium atque lætitiam agitabat. Namque alia belli facinora prædæ magis quam detimento fore, incendium vero crudelē, immoderatum ac sibi maxime calamitosum putabat, quippe cui omnes copiæ in usu quotidiano et cultu

corporis erant. Post eum diem, quidam L. Tarquinius adductus ad senatum erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is, quum se diceret indicaturum de coniuratione, si fides publica data esset, jussus a consule quæ sciret edicere, eadem fere quæ Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de cæde bonorum, de itinere hostium, senatum docet; præterea se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinæ nuntiaret, ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus aliique ex coniuratione deprehensi ternerent, eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur. Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maximis divitiis, summa potentia, alii rem incredibilem rati, pars tametsi verum existimabant, tamen, quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis lenienda quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamat "indicem falsum" esse, deque ea re postulant uti referatur. Itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit, Tarquinii indicium falsum videri, eumque in vinculis retinendum, neque amplius potestatem faciendam, nisi de eo indicaret, cuius consilio tantam rem mentitus esset. Erant eo tempore, qui existimarent, indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius, appellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone immissum aiebant, ne Crassus, more suo suscepto malorum patrocinio, rempublicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea prædicantem audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi a Cicerone impôsitam.

**XLIX.** Sed iisdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso, neque precibus neque gratia neque pretio Ciceronem impellere potuere, uti per Allobroges aut per aliū indicem C. Cæsar falso nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo graves inimicitias exercebat: Piso, oppugnatus in judicio pecuniarum repetundarum propter cujusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus, ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod in extrema ætate, maximis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo Cæsare victus discesserat. Res autem opportuna videbatur, quod is privatum egregia liberalitate, publice maximis munieribus grandem pecuniā debebat. Sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singulatim circumveundo atque ementiendo ea, quæ se ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant; usque adeo, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui præsidii causa cum telis erant circum ædem Concordiæ, seu periculi magnitudine seu animi mobilitate impulsi, quo studium suum in rempublicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Cæsari gladio minitarentur.

L. Dum hæc in senatu aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et T. Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, præmia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus, opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rempublicam vexare soliti erant. Cethagus autem per nuntios familiam atque libertos suos, lectos et exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, ut, grege facto, cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis præsidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu refert, QUID DE HIS FIERI PLACEAT, QUI IN CUSTODIAM TRADITI ERANT. Sed eos, paulo ante, frequens senatus judicaverat, CONTRA REMPUBLICAM FECISSE. Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de his, qui in custodiis tenebantur, præterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat; isque postea, permotus oratione C. Cæsar, pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis iturum se dixerat, quod de ea re, præsidiis additis, referendum censuerat. Sed Cæsar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule, huiuscemodi verba locutus est.

LI. "Omnis homines, Patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa obficiunt; neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul et usui paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet; si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia est memorandi, Patres conscripti, qui reges atque populi, ira aut misericordia impulsi, male consuluerint; sed ea malo dicere, quæ majores nostri contra lubidinem animi sui recte atque ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas, magna atque magnifica, quæ populi Romani opibus creverat, infida et adversa nobis fuit; sed postquam, bello confecto, de Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis quam injuriæ causa bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos eos dimisere. Item bellis Punicis omnibus, quum sæpe Carthaginenses et in pace et per inducias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, nunquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere; magis, quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illos jure fieri posset, quærebant. Hoc item vobis providendum est, Patres conscripti, ne plus apud vos valeat P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus quam vestra dignitas; neu magis iræ vestræ, quam famæ, consulatis. Nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium approbo; sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat, his utendum censeo, quæ legibus comparata sunt. Plerique

1 eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, composite atque magnifice casum reipublicæ miserati sunt; quæ belli sævitia esset, quæ victis acciderent, enumeravere; rapi virgines, pueros; di-  
v. 5 velli liberos a parentum complexu; matres familiarum pati, quæ  
victoribus collibuisserent; fana atque domos spoliari; cædem, incen-  
dия fieri; postremo armis, cadaveribus, cruento atque luctu  
omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortales, quo illa oratio  
pertinuit? an uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? scilicet quem  
res tanta et tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendet. Non  
ita est; neque cuiquam mortalium injuriæ suæ parvæ videntur:  
multi eas gravius æquō habuere. Sed alia aliis licentia est,  
10 Patres conscripti. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si  
quid iracundia deliquerent, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna  
eorum pares sunt: qui, magno imperio prædicti, in excelso  
ætatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in  
maxima fortuna minima licentia est; neque studere, neque  
odisse, sed minime irasci decet; quæ apud alios iracundia dici-  
tur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. Equi-  
dem ego sic aestimo, Patres conscripti, omnes cruciatus minores  
15 quam facinora illorum esse; sed plerique mortales postrema  
meminere, et in hominibus impiis, sceleris eorum oblii, de  
poena disserunt, si ea paulo severior fuit. D. Silanum, virum  
fortem atque strenuum, certo scio, quæ dixerit, studio reipub-  
licæ dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias ex-  
ercere; eos mores eamque modestiam viri cognovi. Verum  
20 sententia ejus mihi non crudelis,—quid enim in tales homi-  
nes crudele fieri potest?—sed aliena a republica nostra vide-  
tur. Nam profecto aut metus aut injuria te subegit, Silane, con-  
sulem designatum, genus poenæ novum decernere. De  
timore supervacaneum est disserere, quum præsertim diligentia  
25 clarissimi viri, consulis, tanta præsidia sint in armis. De  
poena possum equidem dicere id quod res habet; in luctu at-  
que miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse,  
eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curæ  
neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortales, quam-  
30 obrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos  
animadverteretur? an, quia lex Porcia vetat? at aliae leges item  
condemnatis civibus non animam eripi, sed exilium permitti  
jubent. An, quia gravius est verberari quam necari? quid  
autem acerbum aut nimis grave est in homines tanti facinoris  
40 convictos? sin, quia levius est, qui convenit in minore negotio  
legem timere, quum eam in majore neglexeris? at enim quis  
reprehendet, quod in parricidas reipublicæ decretum erit?  
tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis

merito accidet, quidquid évene<sup>r</sup>it; ceterum vos, Patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis, considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex bonis orta sunt; sed ubi imperium ad ignaros aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedæmonii, devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros imposuere, qui rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primo cœpere pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare; ea populus lœtari et merito dicere fieri. Post ubi paulatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos lubidinose interficere, ceteros metu terrire. Ita civitas, servitute oppressa, stultæ lœtitiae graves pœnas dedit. Nostra memoria, victor Sulla quum Damasippum et alios hujusmodi, qui malo reipublicæ creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? homines scelestos et factiosos, qui seditionibus rempublicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnæ initium cladis fuit. Nam ut quisque domum aut villas, postremo vas aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, ut is in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita illi, quibus Damasippi mors lœtitiae fuerat, paulo post ipsi trahebantur; neque prius finis jugulandi fuit quam Sulla omnes suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego haec non in M. Tullio neque his temporibus vereor, sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi; ubi, hoc exemplo, per senatus decretum consul gladium eduxerit, quis illi finem statuet aut quis moderabitur? Majores nostri, Patres conscripti, neque consilii neque audaciæ unquam egere, neque illis superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt: postremo quod ubique apud socios aut hostes idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur; imitari quam invidere bonis malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore, Græciæ morem imitati, verberibus animadvertebant in cives, de condennatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam respublica adolevit et multitudine civium factiones valuere, circumvenire innocentes, alia hujuscemodi fieri cœpere, tum lex Porcia aliæque leges paratæ sunt, quibus legibus exilium damnatis permissum est. Ego hanc causam, Patres conscripti, quo minus novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere quam in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur, eos dimitti et augeri exercitum Catilinæ? minime: sed ita censeo: publicandas eorum

pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxime opibus valent; neu quis de his postea ad senatum referat neve cum populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, senatum existimare eum contra rempublicam et salutem omnium facturum."

LIII. Postquam Cæsar dicendi finem fecit, ceteri verbo, alias alii, varie assentiebantur: at M. Porcius Cato, rogatus sententiam, hujuscemodi orationem habuit. "Longe mihi alia mens est, Patres conscripti, quum res atque pericula nostra considero, et quum sententias nonnullorum ipse mecum reproto. Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum, qui patriæ, parentibus, aris atque focis suis bellum paravere; res autem monet cavere ab illis magis quam, quid in illos statuamus, consultare. Nam cetera maleficia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores; capta urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortales, ego vos appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vostras pluris quam rempublicam fecistis, si ista, cujuscunque modi sunt quæ amplexamini, retinere, si voluntatibus vestris otium præbere vultis, expurgescimini aliquando et capessite rempublicam. Non agitur de vectigalibus neque de sociorum injuriis: libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. Sæpen numero, Patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci, sæpe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortales ea causa adversos habeo; qui mihi atque animo meo nullius unquam delicti gratiam fecisset, haud facile alterius lubidini malefacta condonabam. Sed ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen respublica firma erat; opulentia negligentiam tolerabat. Nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus vivamus, neque quantum aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani sit, sed hæc cujuscunque modi videntur, nostra, an nobiscum una, hostium futura sint. Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat? Jampridem equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus, quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia, fortitudo vocatur: eo respublica in extremo sita est. Sint sane, quoniā ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibūs aerarii; ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnes perditum eant. Bene et composite C. Cæsar paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo, falsa existimans ea, quæ de inferis memorantur, diverso itinere malos a bonis loca tætra, inculta, foeda atque formidolosa habere. Itaque censuit PECUNIAS EORUM PUBLICANDAS, IPSOS PER MUNICIPIA IN CUSTODIIS HABENDOS; videlicet timens, ne, si Romæ sint, aut a

popularibus conjurationis aut a multitudine conducta, per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe et non per totam Italiam sint, aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit; sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis timere. Quare quum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinæ et de omnibus conjuratis decernere. Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit; si paululum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroce aderunt. Nolite existimare, maiores nostros armis rempublicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrimam eam nos haberemus; quippe sociorum atque civium, præterea armorum atque equorum, major copia nobis quam illis est. Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere, quæ nobis nulla sunt, domi industria, foris justum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam, publice egestatem, privatum opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum est; omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum est: ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capit, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae aut gratiae servitis, eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rempublicam. Sed ego hæc omitto. Conjuravere nobilissimi cives patriam incendere, Gallorum gentem, infestissimam nomini Romano, ad bellum accersunt; dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiamnunc et dubitatis, quid intra moenia deprehensis hostibus faciatis? miseremini cénseο,—deliquerem homines adolescentuli per ambitionem,—atque etiam armatos dimittatis. Ne ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriā convertatur. Scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam: immo vero maxime, sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium expectantes, cunctamini; videlicet dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam sæpe in maximis periculis servaverent. Non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prospera omnia cedunt; ubi socordiæ te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequidquam deos implores; irati infestique suūt. Apud maiores nostros A. Manlius Torquatus, bello Gallico, filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari jussit, atque ille egregius adolescens immoderatae fortitudinis morte poenas dedit: vos de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis cunctamini? videlicet cetera vita eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite

dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dis aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit; ignoscite Cethegi adolescentiae, nisi iterum patriae bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Cæpario loquar? quibus si quidquam unquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de republica habuissent. Postremo, Patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile pateter vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis; sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget: alii intra moenia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes: neque parari neque consuli quidquam potest occulte; quo magis properandum est. Quare ego ita censeo: quum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium respublica in maxima pericula venerit, hique indicio T. Volturci et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint, cædem, incendia aliaque se foeda atque crudelia facinora in cives patriamque paravisse, de confessis sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum, supplicium sumendum."

LIII. Postquam Cato adsedit, consulares omnes itemque senatus magna pars sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad cælum ferunt, alii alios increpantes timidos vocant, Cato clarus atque magnus habetur; senati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat. Sed multa mihi legenti, multa audienti, quæ populus Romanus, domi militæque, mari atque terra, præclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere, quæ res maxime tanta negotia sustinuisse. Sciebam sæpenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse; cognoveram parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus, ad hoc, sæpe fortunæ violentiam toleravisse; facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitanti constabat, paucorum civium egrégiam virtutem cuncta patravisse, eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus respublica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratum vitia sustentabat, ac, sicuti effeta parentum, multis tempestatisbus haud sane quisquam Romæ virtute magnus fuit. Sed, memoria mea, ingenti virtute, diversis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato et C. Cæsar; quos quoniam res obtulerat, silentio præterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

LIV. Igitur his genus, ætas, eloquentia prope æqualia fuere, magnitudo animi par, item gloria, sed alia alii. Cæsar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur, integritate vitæ Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus, huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo,

Cato nihil largiendo gloriam adeptus est. In altero miseris perfugium erat, in altero malis perniciies; illius facilitas, huius constantia laudabatur. Postremo Cæsar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotijs amicorum intentus, sua negligere, nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiae, decoris, sed maxime severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque factione cum factioso, sed cum strenuo, virtute, cum modesto, pudore, cum innocente, abstinentia certabat, esse quam videri bonus malebat; ita quo minus petebat gloriam, eo magis illam adsequebatur.

LV. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optimum factu ratus, noctem, quæ instabat, antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, triumviros, quæ supplicium postulabat, parare jubet; ipse, præsidii dispositis, Lentulum in carcerem dederat; idem fit ceteris per prætores. Est in carcere locus, quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum ascenderis ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depresso. Eum muniant undique parietes atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus juncta, sed inculta, tenebris, odore foeda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium, quibus præceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius ex gente clarissima Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romæ habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitæ invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cæpario eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.

LVI. Dum ea Romæ geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia, quam et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit, cohortes pro numero militum complet, deinde, ut quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra venerat, æqualiter distribuerat, ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat, quum initio non amplius duobus millibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copiâ circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii præacutas sudes portabant. Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montes iter facere, modo ad urbem, modo Galliam versus castra movere, hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare; sperabat propediem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romæ socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, cuius initio ad eum magnæ copiæ concurrebant, opibus coniurationis fretus, simul alienum suis rationibus existimans, videri causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

LVII. Sed postquam in castra nuntius pervenit, Romæ con-

jurationem patefactam, de Lentulo et Cethego ceterisque, quos supra memoravi, supplicium sumptum ; plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur ; reliquos Catilina per montes asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte perfugeret in Galliam Transalpinam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno praesidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existimans, quae supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movit ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti. Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat, utpote qui magno exercitu locis aequioribus expeditos in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina postquam videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugae neque praesidii ullam spem, optimum facturatus in tali re fortunam belli tentare, statuit cum Antonio quamprimum configere. Itaque, concione advocata, hujusmodi orationem habuit.

LVIII. "Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere, neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet. Quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequidquam horrere; timor animi auribus obficit. Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi; simul uti causam mei consilii aperiem. Scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi nobisque cladem attulerit; quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam proficiisci nequiviverim. Nunc vero quo loco res nostrae sint, juxta mecum omnes intelligitis. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia obstant; diutius in his locis esse, si maxime animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocunque ire placet, ferro iter aperiendum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis et, quum praelium inibitis, memineritis vos divitias, decus, gloriam, praeterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris vestris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt, commeatus abunde, municipia atque coloniae patebunt; si metu cesserimus, eadem illa adversa fient : neque locus neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint. Praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet ; nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus : illis supervacaneum est pro potentia paucorum pugnare : quo audacius adgrediamini, meores pristinæ virtutis. Licuit vobis cum summa turpitudine in exilio ætatem agere ; potuistis nonnulli, Romæ amissis bonis,

atienas opes expectare : quia illa fœda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, hæc sequi decrevistis. Si hæc relinquere vultis, audacia opus est ; nemo nisi victor pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga sperare salutem, quum arma, quibus corpus tegitur, ab hostibus averteris, ea vero dementia est. Semper in prœlio maximum est periculum, qui maxime timent ; audacia pro muro habetur. Quum vos considero, milites, et quum facta vestra æstimo, magna me spes victoriæ tenet. Animus, ætas, virtus vestra me hortantur, præterea necessitudo, quæ etiam timidos fortés facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiæ loci. Quodsi virtuti vestræ fortuna inviderit, cavete, inulti animam amittatis, neu capti potius sicuti pecora trucidemini, quam virorum more pugnantes cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis."

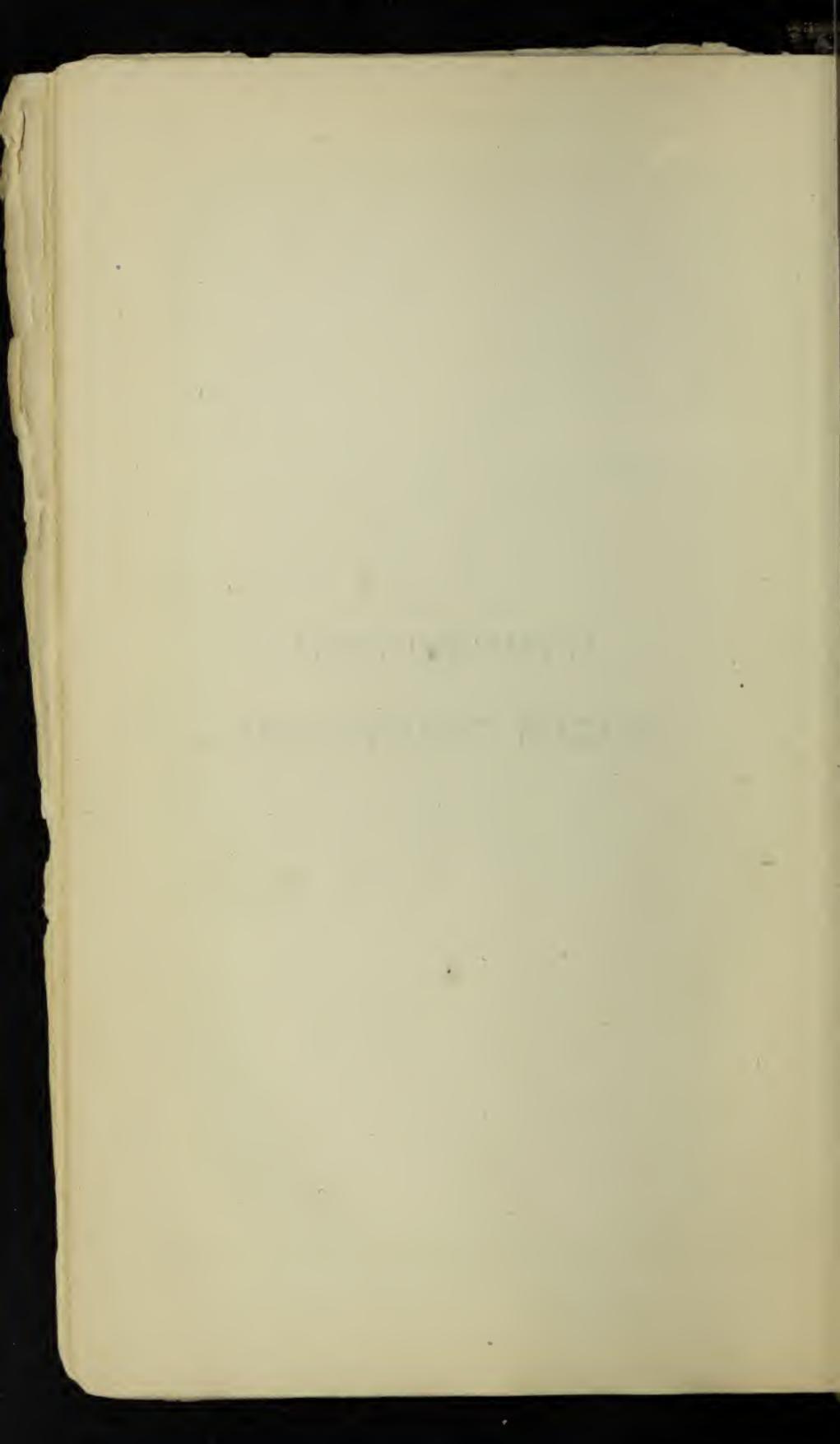
LIX. Hæc ubi dixit, paululum commoratus, signa canere jubet atque instructos ordines in locum æquum deducit. Dein remotis omnium equis, quo militibus exæquo periculo animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit. Nam uti planities erat inter sinistros montes et a dextra rupe aspera, octo cohortes in fronte constituit, reliquarum signa in subsidio arctiu-scollocat. Ab his centuriones omnes, lectos et evocatos, præterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextra, Fæsulanum quendam in sinistra parte curare jubet ; ipse cum libertis et colonis propter aquilam adsistit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus æger, quod prælio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortes veteranas, quas tumulti causa conscripserat, in fronte, post eas ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse equo circumiens, unum quemque nominans appellat, hortatur, rogat, ut meminerint, se contra latrones inermes pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis certare. Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus atque præfectus, aut legatus aut prætor cum magna gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat ; ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

LX. Sed ubi, omnibus rebus exploratis, Petreius tuba signum dat, cohortes paulatim incedere jubet, idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum est, unde a ferentariis prælium committi posset, maximo clamore cum infestis signis concurrunt ; pila omittunt, gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinæ virtutis memores, cominus acriter instare ; illi haud timidi resistunt ; maxima vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis

in prima acie versari, laborantibus succurrere; integros pro sauciis accersere, omnia providere, multum pugnare, ipse saepe hostem ferire; strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilinam, contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem prætoriam in medios hostes inducit, eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus ceteros aggreditur. Manlius et Fæsulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam Catilina fusas copias seque cum paucis relictum videt, memor generis atque pristinæ suæ dignitatis, in confertissimos hostes incurrit ibique pugnans confoditur.

LXI. Sed confecto prælio, tum vero cernēres, quanta audacia, quanta vis animi fuisset in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam fere, quem quisque vivus pugnandolocum ceperat, eum, amissa anima, corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos medios cohors præatoria disjecerat, paulo diversius, sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam spirans ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in vultu retinens. Postremo ex omni copia neque in prælio neque in fuga quisquam civis ingenuus captus est: ita cuncti suæ hostiumque vitæ juxta pepicerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani lætam aut incruentiam victoriam adeptus erat; nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in prælio aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui e castris visendi aut spoliandi gratia processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum reperiebant; fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum lætitia, mæror, luctus atque gaudia agitantur.

C. SALLUSTII CRISPI  
BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.



## INTRODUCTION.

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THE 'Jugurtha' or 'Bellum Jugurthinum' of Sallust is the history of the war between the Roman people and Jugurtha, King of Numidia. It lasted between five and six years, b.c. 111–106, and terminated in the annexation of a rich and extensive province to the African possessions of the Commonwealth. As the Bellum Catilinarium describes principally the internal condition of Rome at the time, so the Bellum Jugurthinum relates chiefly to its foreign or provincial affairs. Much, indeed, is said in the following narrative of the silent changes then at work upon the political constitution of the Roman people, particularly in the new nobility, whose power and influence were derived rather from its wealth than, like the authority of the earlier Patricians, from birth. In some respects the Catilina may be regarded as a proper sequel to the Jugurtha, since in the latter are narrated the causes—ambition, corruption, electioneering and family cabals—that rapidly undermined constitutional freedom in Rome, and bore their final fruits in the conspiracy crushed by Cicero, and in the empire founded by Cæsar.

The principal interest, however, of the following history centres in its hero, Jugurtha, and in the two Roman generals who finally defeated both his open assaults and his secret wiles. Marius and Sulla are of course imperfect portraits. In the Jugurthine war they but performed the prelude to their later campaigns with the Cimbri and Teutones, and Mithridates. Yet even thus early each displayed the characteristics for which he was afterwards so remarkable. In Marius appeared the power of reforming and enforcing the structure and discipline of armies, boldness in attacking, patience in wearing out an enemy, military bluntness, and incapacity so soon as the scene shifted from the camp to the council-chamber. In Sulla, on

the other hand, Sallust portrays one as skilled in policy as in war, and one who was destined to supplant the “older” and perhaps “the better soldier,” whenever the hide of the lion needed eking out with the skin of the fox.\* There are few more striking scenes in any history than that in which Sallust records the doubts that perplexed the faithless Mauritanian Bocchus, regarding the betrayal of Sulla to Jugurtha, or of Jugurtha to Sulla.† In the bold but adroit conduct of the Roman on that critical occasion, we behold the prologue of the drama in which Mithridates, Marius, and the Roman Commons were each destined to be overcome or outwitted by the same strong and subtle opponent.

But it is on the full-length figure of Jugurtha that Sallust has expended all his art. The Numidian may occupy a more prominent station in history than he is altogether entitled to, both because Sallust has rendered him so conspicuous, and because, with the exception of Plutarch, who relates the circumstances of his death (*Marius*, c. xii.), no other ancient writer has deemed him worthy of particular notice. In Sallust’s pages—and his account is as probable as it is picturesque,—we see, drawn to the life, the genuine barbarian chief, who, though trained in Roman camps and distinguished by the favour of the greatest commander of the age,—the second and final conqueror of Carthage,‡—retained beneath his European surface all the fiercer and more subtle passions of his African stock. He is bold in deed, fertile in device, thoroughly acquainted both with the people he governed and the people he flattered, bribed, and finally provoked to his own destruction; he is sanguinary, faithless, and reckless, but at the same time devoid of any high aims, and too restless to follow out any consistent or continuous line of action. His strength lay as much in the character of the country he ruled over—affording him gold to lavish on his foes, and the desert to cover his retreat—as in his own peculiar mental or moral powers. Had his bribes been less potent at Rome, or had Carthage still survived to serve as a check on Roman corruption, Jugurtha would perhaps have merely re-enacted the part of his grandfather, Masinissa. In the degenerate period in which he lived, he was able to employ the vices of the Roman nobles

\* Plutarch, *Lysander*, c. vii.—“Οπου γὰρ ή λεοντ ἡ μὴ ἐφικνεῖται, προσ-  
απτέον ἐκεῖ τὴν ἀλωπεκῆν.

† Jugurtha. c. cxiii.

‡ Jugurtha, viii.—“Numantia deleta, P. Scipio donatum atque laudatum  
magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in prætorium abduxit,” etc.

against themselves, to inflict more than once signal disgrace on their arms, to beard them even in their capital, and to protract the contest with the Commonwealth through a longer period than was required to subdue the old-established kingdoms of Macedonia and Syria.

Jugurtha found about a century later an able imitator in Tacfarinas,\* and on nearly the same ground ; and he has been himself compared to the modern Sheikh, Abd-el-Kader. But the comparison is not just. The Moor of the nineteenth century had no tinge of European culture, civil or military. He was not instructed in the rudiments of war by a French Marshal ; he neither spoke the language nor valued the arts of his conquerors ; but, on the contrary, was such a martial or religious enthusiast as the creed of Islam has often produced, and whom wrath at the encroachments of the infidels has often raised from the head of an obscure tribe to the station of a great chief of the desert. Whereas in Jugurtha, at least as he is represented by Sallust, we find no traces of the enthusiast or the patriot, nothing, in short, above the vulgar ambition of one who seeks to gain by any means solitary power, and who, for that end, considers all means as legitimate. There was much of the heroic in Abd-el-Kader's exploits : but in the moral character of Jugurtha there is nothing to commend, though we cannot but applaud his powers as a soldier and an intriguer, and acknowledge that in him the great Commonwealth had an antagonist who taxed all its efforts and finally drew forth its ablest soldiers and diplomats.

It is probable that Sallust's position as Governor of Numidia in B.C. 46-45 first directed his attention to Jugurtha, and that he collected some of the materials for his narrative on the scene of action. Thus, in the seventeenth chapter of the Jugurthine War he cites as his authority for his geographical account of Western Africa the Punic books of King Hiempasal. Nothing however can well be more vague than his description of the country generally, or this war in particular : nor is his chronology of events much more satisfactory ; and it is always difficult, nay, often impossible, to assign to the actions described their proper place and time. Among the materials he made use of is the oration of the Tribune C. Memmius against L. Calpurnius Bestia (c. xxx.). This, Sallust declares to be a genuine speech : and it may be so, since it is wholly unlike the other declamations put into the mouths of the actors in his histories.

\* Tacitus, Annals, lib. ii., iii., iv.

On the whole, the Jugurthine War is inferior in interest to the Catilinarian. In the latter, Sallust describes what he saw, reports what he heard, comments on what he knew, and enlivens his story with the local and personal colours that an eye-witness of events alone can impart to narrative. But in the former, he writes from hearsay and tradition. He describes occurrences that happened a whole generation before his birth, and a state of things that had, in some measure, passed away. Accordingly, in the ‘Bellum Jugurthinum,’ he is less earnest, less concise, less graphic, more of the orator and less of the painter. Yet few ancient monographies, after all, are so vivid as the Jugurtha, or better deserve careful perusal; and in one respect, indeed, it surpasses the Catilina. The episodes in it, after we are clear of the commonplaces of the Preface, are more naturally introduced, are more germane to the matter, and the historian does not so frequently break the thread of his narration by tedious discussions on the origin of government, or the “good old times” of the Senate and People of Rome.

CAII SALLUSTII CRISPI

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

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I. Falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod, imbecilla atque ævi brevis, forte potius, quam virtute regatur. Nam contra, reputando, neque majus aliud, neque præstabilius invenias ; magisque naturæ industriam hominum, quam vim aut tempus deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitæ mortalium animus est : qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur, abunde pollens potensque et clarus est, neque fortunæ eget ; quippe probitatem, industriam, alias artes bonas neque dare, neque eripere potest. Sin, captus pravis cupidinibus, ad inertiam et voluptatis corporis pessum datus est ; perniciosa lubidine paullisper usus, ubi per secordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxere, naturæ infirmitas accusatur : suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. Quod si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multumque etiam periculosa, petunt ; neque regerentur magis, quam regerent casus, et eo magnitudinis procederent, ubi, pro mortalibus, gloria æterni fierent.

II. Nam, uti genus hominum compositum ex anima et corpore, ita res cunctæ, studiaque omnia nostra, corporis alia, alia animi naturam sequuntur. Igitur præclara facies, magnæ divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis, alia hujuscemodi, omnia brevi dilabuntur ; at ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. Postremo, corporis et fortunæ bonorum, ut initium, finis est : omniaque orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt : animus incorruptus, æternus, rector humani generis, agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui, dediti corporis gaudiis, per luxum atque ignaviam ætatem agunt ; ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius, neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, in cultu atque

secordia torpescere sinunt ; cum præsertim tam multæ variæque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

III. Verum ex his magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum, minime mihi hac tempestate cupienda videntur : quoniam neque virtuti honos datur ; neque illi, quibus per fraudem jus fuit, tuti, aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam, aut parentes, quanquam et possis, et delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est ; cum præsertim omnes rerum mutationes cædem, fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant ; frustra autem niti, neque aliud se fatigando, nisi odium, quærere, extremæ dementiae est ; nisi forte quem in honesta et perniciosa lubido tenet, potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

IV. Ceterum, ex aliis negotiis quæ ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum : cuius de virtute quia multi dixerunt, prætereundum puto ; simul, ne, per insolentiam, quis existimet, memet, studium laudando, extollere. Atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi procul a republica ætatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant ; certe, quibus maxima industria videtur, salutare plebem, et conviviis gratiam quærere. Qui si reputaverint, et quibus ego temporibus magistratus adeptus sum, et quales viri idem adsequi nequierint, et postea quæ genera hominum in senatum pervenerint ; profecto existimabunt, me magis merito, quam ignavia, judicium animi mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo, quam ex aliorum negotiis, reipublicæ venturum. Nam sæpe audivi, Q. Maximum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, **CUM MAJORUM IMAGINES INTUERENTUR, VEHEMENTISSIME SIBI ANIMUM AD VIRTUTEM ACCENDI.** Scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere ; sed, memoria rerum gestarum, eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. At contra, quis est omnium, his moribus, quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria, cum majoribus suis contendat ? etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et per latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus ad imperia et honores nituntur ; proinde quasi prætura et consulatus, atque alia omnia hujuscemodi, per se ipsa clara, magnifica sint, ac non perinde habentur, ut eorum qui sustinent virtus est. Verum ego liberius altiusque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget tædetque : nunc ad inceptum redeo.

V. Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum

Jugurtha, rege Numidarum, gessit : primum, quia magnum et atrox, variaque Victoria fuit : dein, quia tum primum superbie nobilitatis obviam itum est ; quæ contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscauit, eoque recordiæ processit, uti studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiæ finem faceret. Sed, priusquam hujuscemodi rei initium expedio, pauca supra repetam ; quo, ad cognoscendum, omnia illustria magis magisque in aperto sint. Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginensium Hannibal, post magnitudinem nominis Romani, Italiæ opes maxime adriverat, Masinissa, rex Numidarum, in amicitia receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et præclara rei militaris facinora fecerat : ob quæ, victis Carthaginiensibus, et capto Syphace, cujus in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus, quas-cunque urbes et agros manu ceperat, regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissæ bona atque honesta nobis permansit : imperii vitæque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa, filius, regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa, fratribus, morbo abscessus. Is Adherbalem et Hiempalem ex sese genuit ; Jugurthamque, Mastanabalis fratris filium, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum reliquerat, eodem cultu, quo liberos suos, domi habuit.

VI. Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxime ingenio validus, non se luxu, neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit ; sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum æqualibus certare : et, cum omnes gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse : ad hoc, pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus, aut in primis, ferire : plurimum facere, minimum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio lætus fuerat, existimans virtutem Jugurthæ regno suo gloriæ fore ; tamen, postquam hominem adolescentem, exacta sua ætate, parvis liberis, magis magisque crescere intelligit, vehementer negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo volverebat. Terrebat natura mortalium, avida imperii, et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem : præterea opportunitas sueque et liberorum ætatis, quæ etiam mediocres viros spe prædæ transversos agit : ad hoc, studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa ; ex quibus, si talem virum interfecisset, ne qua seditio, aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus, ubi videt, neque per vim, neque insidiis, opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus ; quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus et appetens gloriæ militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis, et eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur, bello Numantino, Micipsa, cum po-

pulo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans, vel ostentando virtutem, vel hostium sœvitia, facile occasurum, præfecit Numidis quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longe aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro atque aeri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator, et morem hostium cognovit; multo labore, multaque cura, præterea modestissime parendo, et sœpe obviam eundo periculis, in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori esset. Ac sane, quod difficillimum in primis est, et prælio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio; quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnes fere res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque in dies amplecti; quippe cuius neque consilium, neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Huc accedebat munificentia animi, et ingenii sollertia, quis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures, novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiæ bono honestoque potiores erant, factiosi, domi potentes, apud socios clari magis, quam honesti: qui Jugurthæ non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebat, **SI MICIPSA REX OCCIDISET, FORE, UTI SOLUS IMPERII NUMIDIÆ POTIRETUR: IN IPSO MAXIMAM VIRTUTEM, ROMÆ OMNIA VENALIA ESSE.** Sed postquam, Numantia deleta, P. Scipio dimittere auxilia, ipse reverti domum decrevit; donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in prætorium abduxit, ibique secreto monuit, "uti potius publice, quam privatim, amicitiam populi Romani coleret; neu quibus largiri insuesceret: periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset: si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam, et regnum venturum: sin properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum pecunia præcipitem casurum."

IX. Sic locutus, cum litteris, quas Micipsa redderet, dimisit: earum sententia hæc erat. "Jugurthæ tui bello Numantino longe maxima virtus fuit; quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse: nobis ob merita carus est; uti idem senatui sit et populo Romano, summa ope nitemur. Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor: en habes virum dignum te, atque avo suo Masinissa." Igitur rex, ubi ea quæ fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, cum virtute viri, tum gratia permotus, flexit animum suum, et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere adgressus est; statimque adoptavit, et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos, morbo atque ætate confectus, cum sibi finem vitæ adesse intelligeret,

coram amicis et cognatis, item Adherbale et Hiempse filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurtha habuisse.

X. "Parvum ego, Jugurtha, te, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, in meum regnum accepi; existimans non minus me tibi quam liberis, si genuisse, ob beneficia carum fore: neque ea res falsum habuit. Nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua omittam, novissime, rediens Numantia, meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti: tua virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti: in Hispania nomen familiæ renovatum: postremo, quod difficillimum inter mortales, gloria invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura vitæ finem facit, per hanc dextram, per regni fidem moneo obtestorque te uti hos, qui tibi genere propinquui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas; neu malis alienos adjungere, quam sanguine conjunctos retinere. Non exercitus, neque thesauri præsidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior, quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Evidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis; sin mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia parvæ res crescunt, discordia maximæ dilabuntur. Ceterum ante hos te, Jugurtha, qui ætate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet. Nam, in omni certamine, qui opulentior est, etiam si accipit injuriam, quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observe talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem, et enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos sumpsisse videar, quam genuisse."

XI. Ad ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem facta locutum intelligebat, et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis diebus moritur. Postquam illi, more regio, justa magnifice fecerant, reguli in unum convenere, uti inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minimus ex illis, natura ferox, etiam antea ignorabilitatem Jugurthæ quia materno genere impar erat, despiciens, dextra Adherbalem adsedit; ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, uti ætati concederet, fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. Ibi, cum multa de administrando imperio dissererent, Jugurtha inter alias res jacit: **OPORTERE QUINQUENNII CONSULTA OMNIA ET DECRETA RESCINDI; NAM PER EA TEMPORA CONFECTUM ANNIS MICIPSAM PARUM ANIMO VALUISSE.** Tum **IDEM**, Hiempsal, **PLACERE SIBI**, respondit; **NAM IPSUM ILLUM TRIBUS HIS PROXIMIS ANNIS ADOPTIONE IN REGNUM PERVENISSE.** Quod verbum in

pectus Jugurthæ altius, quam quisquam ratus, descendit. Itaque, ex eo tempore, ira et metu auxius moliri, parare atque ea modo animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quæ ubi tardius procedunt, neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo incepsum perficere.

XII. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros, finesque imperii singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris, alias alio, concessere. Sed Hiempsal, in oppido Thirmida, forte ejus domo utebatur, qui, proximus lictor Jugurthæ, carus acceptusque semper fuerat; quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat, uti tanquam suam visens domum eat, portarum claves adulterinas paret; nam veræ ad Hiempalem referebantur; ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi confecit; atque, ut doctus erat, noctu Jugurthæ milites introducit. Qui postquam in ædes irrupere, diversi regem querere: dormientes alios, alios occursantes interficere: scrutari loca abdita; clausa effringere: strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere: cum Hiempsal interim reperitur, occultans sese tugurio mulieris ancillæ, quo, initio, pavidus et ignarus loci, perfugerat. Numidæ caput ejus, ut jussi erant, ad Jugurham referunt.

XIII. Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divulgatur: Adherbalem omnesque, qui sub imperio Micipsæ fuerant, metus invadit: in duas partes discedunt: plures Adherbalem sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quam maximas potest copias armat; urbes, partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo adjungit; omni Numidæ imperare parat. Adherbal, tametsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de cæde fratris et fortunis suis; tamen, fretus multitudine militum, parabat armis contendere. Sed, ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex prælio profugit in provinciam, ac deinde Romam contendit. Tum Jugurtha, patratis consiliis, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum, neque adversus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua, spem habere. Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam mittit, quis præcepit, uti primum veteres amicos muneribus expleant; deinde novos adquirant; postremo, quemcunque possint largiendo parare, ne cunctentur. Sed, ubi Romam legati venere, et, ex præcepto regis, hospitibus, aliisque, quorum ea tempestate auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere; tanta commutatio

incessit, uti ex maxima invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret; quorum pars spe, alii præmio inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiendo, nitebantur, ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur, legati ubi satis confidunt, die constituto, senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

XIV. "Patres conscripti, Micipsa, pater meus, moriens, præcepit, uti regnum Numidiæ tantummodo procuratione existimarem meum; ceterum jus et imperium penes vos esse: simul eniterer domi militiæque quam maximo usui esse populo Romano: vos mihi cognatorum, vos ad finium loco ducerem: si ea fecisset, in vestra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni habere. Quæ cum præcepta parentis mei agitarem, Jugurtha, homo omnium, quos terra sustinet, sceletatissimus, contempto imperio vestro, Masinissæ me nepotem, et jam ab stirpe socium et amicum populo Romano, regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, Patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, vellem, potius ob mea, quam ob majorum beneficia posse auxilium petere; ac maxime deberi mihi a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debit is uterer. Sed, quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est, neque mihi in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret; ad vos configi, Patres conscripti, quibus, quod miserrimum, cogor prius oneri, quam usui esse. Ceteri reges, aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram adpetiverunt: familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit; quo tempore magis fides ejus, quam fortuna petenda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, Patres conscripti, nolite pati frustra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil causæ haberem, præter miserandam fortunam; quod paullo ante rex, genere, fama atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus ærumnis, inops, alienas opes exspecto; tamen erat majestatis Romani populi, prohibere injuriam, neque pati cujusquam regnum per scelus crescere. Verum ego his finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit; unde pater et avus una vobis cum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses. Vestra beneficia erepta mihi sunt, Patres conscripti: vos in injuria mea despici estis. Eheu me miserum! Huccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia evasere, uti, quem tu parem cum liberis, regnique participem fecisti, is potissimum stirpis tuæ extintor sit? Nunquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga versabimur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, jure omnia sæva patiebamur: hostes ab latere, vos amici,

procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam illa pestis ejecta, laeti pacem agitabamus; quippe quis hostis nullus, nisi forte quem vos jussissetis. Ecce autem ex improviso, Jugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia sese eferens, fratre meo, atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto, primum regnum ejus sceleris sui praedam fecit: post, ubi me iisdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus, quam vim, aut bellum exspectantem, in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, extorrem patria, domo, inopem et coopertum miseriis effecit, ut ubivis tutius, quam in meo regno essem. Ego sic existimabam, Patres conscripti, ut praedicantem audiveram patrem meum, qui vestram amicitiam colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere; ceterum ex omnibus maxime tutos esse. Quod in familia nostra fuit, praestitit, uti in omnibus bellis vobis adessent; nos uti per otium tuti simus, in manu vestra est, Patres conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit: tertium, Jugurtham, beneficiis suis ratus est nobis conjunctum fore: alter eorum necatus, alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid agam? quo potissimum infelix accedam? Generis praesidia omnia extincta sunt: pater, uti necesse erat, naturae concessit: fratri, quem minime decuit, propinquus, per scelus, vitam eripuit: affines, amicos, propinquos ceteros, alium alia clades oppressit: capti ab Jugurtha, pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti sunt; pauci, quibus relicta est anima, clausi in tenebris, cum moerore et luctu, morte graviorem vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quae aut amisi, aut ex necessariis adversa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex improviso accidisset, vos implorarem, Patres conscripti; quibus, pro magnitudine imperii, jus et injurias omnes curae esse decet. Nunc vero exsul patria, domo, solus, et omnium honestarum rerum egens, quo accedam, aut quos adpellem? nationesne, an reges, qui omnes familiae nostrae ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt? an quoquam adire licet, ubi non majorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima sint? aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremo, Masinissa nos ita instituit, Patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus, nisi populum Romanum, ne societas, ne foedera nova acciperemus: abunde magna praesidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore; si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una nobis occidendum esse. Virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis et opulent: omnia secunda et obedientia sunt: quo facilius sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthae, parum cognita, transversos agat: quos ego audio maxima operi, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente, incognita causa, statuatis: fingere me verba, fugam simulare, cui

licuerit in regno manere. Quod utinam illum, cuius impio facinore, in has miserias projectus sum, eadem hæc simulantem videam ; et aliquando aut apud vos, aut apud deos immortales, rerum humanarum cura oriatur : ne, ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque præclarus est, omnibus malis exerciatus, impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis, mearumque miseriarum graves poenas reddet. Jam jam, frater, animo meo carissime, quamquam tibi immaturo, et unde minime decuit, vita erepta est ; tamen lætandum magis, quam dolendum, puto casum tuum ; non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem, et omnes has, quæ me premunt, ærumnas cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala præcipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum præbeo, incertus quid agam ; tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens, an regno consulam, cujus vitæ necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, neu jure contemptus viderer, si, defessus malis, injuriæ concessissem. Nunc neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. Patres conscripti, per vos, per liberos atque parentes, per majestatem populi Romani, subvenite misero mihi ; ite obviam injuriæ ; nolite pati regnum Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familæ nostræ tabescere."

XV. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthæ largitione magis, quam causa freti, paucis respondent : " Hiemp-salem ob sævitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum : Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequivisset : Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne alium putarent, ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent." Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur : fautores legatorum, præterea magna pars, gratia depravati, Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Jugurthæ virtutem extollere laudibus ; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis, pro alieno scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria, nitabantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et æquum divitiis carius, subveniendum Adherbali, et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant : sed ex omnibus maxime Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum ; ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubidine continuit.

XVI. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quæ vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit, **UTI DECEM LEGATI REGNUM, QUOD MICIPSA OBTINUERAT, INTER JUGURTHAM**

**ET ADHERBALEM DIVIDERENT:** cuius legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens: quia consul, C. Graccho et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis, acerrime victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha tametsi Romæ in amicis habuerat, tamen adcuratissime recepit; dando et pollicitando perfecit, uti fama, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferret. Reliquos legatos eadem via adgressus, plerosque capit; paucis carior fides, quam pecunia fuit. In divisione, quæ pars Numidiæ Mauretaniam adtingit, agro, viris opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur: illam alteram specie, quam usu, potiorem, quæ portuosior et ædificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

**XVII.** Res postulare videtur Africæ situm paucis exponere, et eas gentes, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, adtingere. Sed quæ loca et nationes ob calorem, aut asperitatem, item solitudines, minus frequentata sunt, de his haud facile compertum narraverim: cetera quam paucissimis absolvam. In divisione orbis terræ plerique in partem tertiam Africam posuere: pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse; sed Africam in Europa. Ea fines habet, ab occidente fretum nostri maris et oceani; ab ortu solis, declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolæ adpellant. Mare sævum, importuosum: ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infecundus: coelo terraque penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum: plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere; nam morbus haud sæpe quemquam superat. Ad hoc, malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, ant quomodo inter se permixti sint; quamquam ab ea fama, quæ plerosque obtinet, diversum est; tamen, uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terræ putant, quam paucissimis dicam. Ceterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

**XVIII.** Africam initio habuere Gætuli et Libyes, asperi, inculti; quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus, neque lege, neque imperio cujusquam regebantur: vagi, palantes, qua nox coegerat, sedes habebant. Sed, postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit, exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce, ac passim multis, sibi quique, imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persæ, et Armeni, navibus in Africam transvecti, proximos nostro mari locos occupavere. Sed Persæ intra oceanum magis: iisque alveos na-

vium inversos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hispanis emendi, aut mutandi copia erat: mare magnum et ignara lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paulatim per connubia Gætulos sibi miscuere; et, quia sæpe tentantes agros, alia, deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Numidas adpellavere. Ceterum adhuc ædificia Numidarum agrestium, quæ mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinæ sunt. Medis autem et Armenis accessere Libyes (nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant; Gætuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus), hique mature oppida habuere; nam, freto divisi ab Hispania, mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paullatim Libyes corrupere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis adpellantes. Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit: ac postea nomine Numidæ, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possidere ea loca, quæ proxime Carthaginem Numidia adpellatur. Dein utrique, alteris freti, finitimos armis aut metu sub imperium cogere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere; magis hi qui ad nostrum mare processerant: quia Libyes, quam Gætuli, minus bellicosi: deinde Africae pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est: victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.

XIX. Postea Phœnices, alii multitudinis domi minuendæ gratia, pars imperii cupidine, sollicitata plebe, et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim, aliasque urbes in ora maritima condidere: hæque brevi multum auctæ, pars originibus præsidio, aliae decori fuere: nam de Carthagine silere melius puto, quam parum dicere; quoniam alio properare tempus monet. Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Ægyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari, prima Cyrene est, colonia Thereon, ac deinceps duæ Syrtes, interque eas Leptis: dein Phile-nôn aræ, quem locum, Ægyptum versus, finem imperii habuere Carthaginienses: post aliæ Punicæ urbes. Cetera loca usque ad Mauretaniam Numidæ tenent: proxime Hispaniam Mauri sunt: super Numidiam Gætulos accepimus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare; post eos Æthiopas esse; dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida, et fines Carthaginiensium, quos novissime habuerant, populus Romanus, per magistratus administrabat: Gætulorum magna pars et Numidia usque ad flumen Mulucham sub Jugurtha erant: Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, præter nomen, cetera ignarus populi Romani; itemque nobis neque bello, neque pace, antea cognitus. De Africa et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

XX. Postquam, regno diviso, legati Africa discessere, et

Jugurtha contra timorem animi præmia sceleris adeptum sese videt; certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romæ venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paullo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus: at is, quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus injuriæ, metuens magis, quam metuendus. Igitur ex improviso, fines ejus cum magna manu invadit, multos mortales cum pecore atque alia præda capit, ædificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit; dein cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convertit, existimans dolore permotum Adherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli causam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existimabat, et amicitia populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit: qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit, quam bellum sumere; quia tentatum antea secus cesserat. Neque tamen eo magis cupido Jugurthæ minuebatur; quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaserat. Itaque non, ut antea, cum prædatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato, bellum gerere cœpit, et aperte totius Numidiæ imperium petere. Ceterum, qua pergebat, urbes, agros vastare, prædas agere; suis animum, terrorem hostibus augere.

XXI. Adherbal, ubi intelligit eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset, aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat, et Jugurthæ obvius procedit. Interim, haud longe a mari, prope Cirtam oppidum, utriusque consedit exercitus: et, quia die extremum erat, prælium non inceptum. Ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini, signo dato, castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos partim, alios arma sumentes fugant funduntque; Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et, ni multitudo togatorum fuisse, quæ Numidas insequentes mœnibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges cœptum atque patratum bellum foret. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumsedit, vineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare adreditur; maxime festinans tempus legatorum: antecapere, quos, ante prælium factum, Romam ab Adherbale missos audiverat. Sed, postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adolescentes in Africam legantur, qui ambo reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuncient, “velle et censere, eos ab armis discedere; de controversiis suis jure potius, quam bello disceptare; ita seque illisque dignum fore.”

XXII. Legati in Africam maturantes, veniunt eo magis,

quod Romæ, dum proficisci parant, de prælio facto et oppugnatione Cirtæ audiebatur : sed is rumor clemens erat. Quorum Jugurtha accepta oratione respondit : “ sibi neque majus quidquam, neque carius auctoritate senati : ab adolescentia ita enisum, uti ab optimo quoque probaretur : virtute, non malitia, P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse : ob easdem artes ab Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum : ceterum, quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare : Adherbalem dolis vitæ suæ insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri obviamisse : populum Romanum neque recte, neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerint : postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum.” Ita utrique digrediuntur. Adherbalis adpellandi copia non fuit.

XXIII. Jugurtha, ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque, propter loci naturam, Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa mœnia circumdat, turres exstruit easque præsidiis firmat : præterea dies, noctesque, aut per vim, aut dolis tentare ; defensoribus mœnium præmia modo, modo formidinem ostentare ; suos hortando ad virtutem erigere ; prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal, ubi intelligit omnes suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxiliū spem nullam, penuria rerum necessiarum bellum trahi non posse ; ex his, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duo maxime impigros delegit : eos, multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum, confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent.

XXIV. Numidæ paucis diebus jussa efficiunt : litteræ Adherbalis in senatu recitatæ, quarum sententia hæc fuit. “ Non mea culpa sæpe ad vos oratum mitto, Patres conscripti, sed vis Jugurthæ subigit : quem tanta lubido extingendi me invasit, uti neque vos, neque deos immortales in animo habeat ; sanguinem meum, quam omnia, malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem, socius et amicus populi Romani, armis obsessus teneor : neque mihi Micipsa patris beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur : ferro, an fame acrius urgari, incertus sum. Plura de Jugurtha scribere dehortatur fortuna mea : etiam antea expertus sum, parum fidei miseris esse : nisi tamen intelligo, illum supra, quam ego sum, petere, neque simul amicitiam vestram, et regnum meum, sperare : utrum gravius existimet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempalem, fratrem meum ; dein patrio regno me expulit :— quæ sane fuerint nostræ injuriæ, nihil ad vos. Verum nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet : me, quem imperatorem Numidis

posuistis, clausum obsidet; legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant. Quid reliquum, nisi vis vestra, quo moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem, et haec quae scribo, et quae antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed, quoniam eo natus sum, ut Jugurthae scelerum ostentui essem, non jam mortem neque ærumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, uti lubet, consulite: me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii, per amicitiae fidem; si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissæ."

XXV. His litteris recitatis, fuere, qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, et quam primum Adherbali subveniendum; de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam non paruissest legatis. Sed ab iisdem regis fautoribus summa ope enisum, ne decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plenisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam majores natu, nobiles, amplis honoribus; in quis M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis, et tum in senatu princeps. Hi, quod in invidia res erat, simul et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim ascendere: dein brevi Uticam ad pulsi litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, **QUAM OCIS-SIME AD PROVINCIAM ACCEDAT; SEQUE AD EUM AB SENATU MISSOS.** Ille ubi accepit, homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romæ pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse; primo commotus, metu atque lubidine diversus agitabatur. Timebat iram senati, ni paruissest legatis: porro animus cupidine cæcus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur, exercitu circumdato, summa vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur, maxime sperans, diducta manu hostium, aut vi, aut dolis, sese casum victoriae inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit, neque, quod intenderat, efficere potest, uti prius, quam legatos conveniret, Adherbalis potiretur: ne, amplius morando, Scaurum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac, tamen etsi senati verbis minæ graves nunciabantur, quod oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione consumta, legati frustra discessere.

XXVI. Ea postquam Cirtæ audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute mœnia defensabantur, confisi, deditione facta, propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent, uti seque, et oppidum Jugurthæ tradat; tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur; de ceteris senatui curæ fore. At ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Jugurthæ rebatur; quia penes

eosdem, si adversaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita uti censuerant Italici, deditio nem facit. Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat: dein omnes puberes, Numidas et negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatis obvius fuerat, interfecit.

**XXVII.** Quod postquam Romæ cognitum est, et res in senatu agitari cœpta, idem illi ministri regis interpellando, ac saepe gratia, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac, ni C. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer, et infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset, **ID AGI, UTI PER PAUCOS FACTIOSOS JUGURTHÆ SCELUS CONDONARETUR**, profecto omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa erat: tanta vis gratiae, atque pecuniae regis. Sed, ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, lege Sempronia provinciae futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretæ: consules declarantur P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius: Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit: deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur; stipendum, alia, quæ bello usui forent, decernuntur.

**XXVIII.** At Jugurtha, contra spem nuncio accepto, quippe cui Romæ omnia venum ire in animo haeserat; filium, et cum eo duo familiares, ad senatum legatos mittit: hisque, ut illis, quos Hiempseal interfecto miserat, præcepit, "omnes mortales pecunia adgrediantur." Qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus, **PLACERETNE LEGATOS JUGURTHÆ RECIPI MÆNIBUS**: iique decrevere, "nisi regnum, ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus proximis decem Italia decederent." Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nunciari jubet; ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, legat sibi homines nobiles, factiosos, quorum auctoritate, quæ deliquisset, munita fore sperabat: in quis fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura et habitu supra memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multæ bonaëque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia præpediebat: patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italianam Rhegium, atque inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam, transvectæ. Igitur Calpurnius initio, paratis commatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est; multos mortales, et urbes aliquot pugnando capit.

**XXIX.** Sed, ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecunia tentare, bellique, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere cœpit, animus æger avaritia facile conversus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus: qui,

tametsi a principio, plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis, acer-  
rime regem impugnaverat; tamen, magnitudine pecuniae, a  
bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha  
primum tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existimans, sese  
aliquid interim Romae, pretio aut gratia, effecturum: postea  
vero quam participem negotii Scaurum acceperat, in maximam  
spem adductus recuperandæ pacis, statuit cum eis de omnibus  
pactionibus præsens agere. Ceterum interea, fidei causa,  
mittitur a consule Sextius quæstor in oppidum Jugurthæ  
Vagam; cuius rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Cal-  
purnius palam legatis imperaverat; quoniam ditionis mora  
induciae agitabantur. Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra  
venit; ac pauca, præsenti consilio, locutus de invidia facti,  
atque in ditionem uti acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et  
Scauro secreta transigit: dein postero die, quasi per saturam  
exquisitis sententiis, in ditionem accipitur. Sed, uti pro  
consilio imperatum, elephanti triginta, pecus atque equi multi,  
cum parvo argenti pondere quæstori traduntur. Calpurnius  
Romam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidia  
et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

XXX. Postquam res in Africa gestas, quoque modo actæ  
forent, fama divulgavit, Romæ per omnes locos et conventus  
de facto consulis agitari: apud plebem gravis invidia: Patres,  
probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum consulis subver-  
terent, parum constabat. Ac maxime eos potentia Scauri,  
quod is auctor et socius Bestiæ ferebatur, a vero, bonoque im-  
pediebat. At C. Memmius, cuius de libertate ingenii et odio  
potentiae nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras  
senati, coneionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari: monere,  
ne rempublicam, ne libertatem suam desererent: multa superba,  
crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere: prorsus intentus omni  
modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed, quoniam ea tempes-  
tate Memmii facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existimavi,  
unam ex tam multis orationem perscribere; ac potissimum,  
quæ in concione, post redditum Bestiæ, hujuscemodi verbis  
disseruit.

XXXI. "Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni stu-  
dium reipublicæ omnia superet; opes factionis, vestra patientia,  
jus nullum, ac maxime, quod innocentiae plus periculi, quam  
honoris, est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis xv.  
quam ludibrio fueritis superbiæ paucorum; quam fœde, quam-  
que inulti perierint vestri defensores; ut vobis animus ab ig-  
navia atque secordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem, ob-  
noxiis inimicis, exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis, quibus

debet terrori esse. Sed, quamquam hæc talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit; certe ego libertatem, quæ mihi a parente tradita est, experiar: verum id frustra, an ob rem faciam, in vestra manu situm, Quirites. Neque ego hortor, quod sæpe majores vestri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil secessione opus: necesse est suomet ipsi more præcipites eant. Occiso Tiberio Graccho, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quæstiones habitæ sunt: post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvii cædem, item multi vestri ordinis in carcere necati sunt; utriusque cladis non lex, verum lubido eorum finem fecit. Sed sane fuerit regni paratio, plebi sua restituere: quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini, ærarium expilari; reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere; penes eosdem et summam gloriam, et maximas divitias esse: tamen hæc talia facinora impune suscepisse, parum habuere: itaque postremo leges, majestas vestra, divina et humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui fecere, pudet aut poenitet: sed incedunt per ora vestra magnifice, sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes: perinde quasi honori, non prædæ habeant. Servi ære parati imperia injusta dominorum non perferunt: vos, Quirites, imperio nati, æquo animo servitutem toleratis! At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavere? homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immanni avaritia, nocentissimi, idemque superbissimi: quis fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quæstui sunt. Pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quæstiones injustas, plerique cædem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent. Ita quam quisque pessime fecit, tam maxime tutus est: metum a scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transtulere; quos omnes eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coëgit: sed hæc inter bonos amicitia est, inter malos factio. Quod si tam libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt; profecto neque respublica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur, et beneficia vestra penes optimos, non audacissimos, forent. Majores vestri, parandi juris et majestatis constituendæ gratia, bis, per secessionem, armati Aventinum occupavere: vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, non summa ope nitemini? atque eo vehementius, quo majus dedecus est, parta amittere, quam omnino non paravisse? Dicet aliquis, Quid igitur censes? Vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rempublicam: non manu, neque vi, quod magis fecisse, quam illis accidisse indignum; verum quæstionibus et indicio ipsius Jugurthæ: qui, si

dediticius est, profecto jussis vestris obediens erit: sin ea contemnit, scilicet existimabitis, qualis illa pax, aut deditio, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentes maximæ divitiæ, in rempublicam damna atque dedecora pervernerint. Nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et illa, quam hæc tempora, magis placent, cum regna, provinciæ, leges, jura, judicia, bella, paces, postremo divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est, populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere: nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum recusare audebat? Atque ego, tametsi viro flagitosissimum existimo impune injuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, æquo animo paterer, nisi misericordia in perniciem casura esset. Nam et illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parum est, impune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciendi licentia eripitur: et vobis æterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum intelligetis, aut serviendum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem, aut concordiæ, quæ spes? dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse: facere illi injurias, vos prohibere: postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam diversis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque, ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non peculatus ærarii factus est, neque per vim sociis erepta pecuniæ; quæ, quamquam gravia, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrimo prodita senati auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum: domi militiæque respublica venalis fuit. Quæ nisi quæsita erunt, ni vindicatum in noxios, quid reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obedientes vivamus? nam impune quæ libet facere, id est regem esse. Neque ego, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis cives vestros perperam, quam recte fecisse; sed ne, ignoscendo malis, bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc, in republica multo præstat beneficij quam maleficij immemorem esse: bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi negligas; at malus improbior. Ad hoc, si injuriæ non sint, haud sæpe auxiliæ egeas."

XXXII. Hæc, atque alia hujuscemodi sæpe dicendo, Meminius populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum prætor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur, interposita fide publica, Romam duceret; quo facilius, indicio regis, Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniæ captæ arcessebant, delicta patefierent. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, qui in Numidia relicti a Bestia exercitu præerant, secuti morem imperatoris, plurima et flagitosissima facinora facere. Fuere qui, auro corrupti, elephantes Jugurthæ

traderent: alii perfugas vendere: pars ex pacatis prædas agebant: tanta vis avaritiae in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaserat. At Cassius, perlata rogatione a C. Memmio, ac perculta omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur: ei timido, et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis, persuadet, "quo se populo Romano dedidisset, ne vim, quam misericordiam, experiri mallet." Privatum præterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris, quam publicam, ducebat; talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat.

XXXIII. Igitur Jugurtha, contra decus regium, cultu quam maxime miserabili, cum Cassio Romam venit: ac, tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta gesserat, C. Bæbium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cuius impudentia contra jus et injurias omnes munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advocata concione; quamquam regi infesta plebes erat, et pars in vincula duci jubebat, pars, ni socios sceleris aperiret, more majorum, de hoste supplicium sumi; dignitati, quam iræ, magis consulens, sedare motus, et animos mollire, postremo confirmare, fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium cœpit, producto Jugurtha, verba facit, Romæ Numidiæque facinora ejus memorat, sclera in patrem, fratresque ostendit: "quibus juvantibus, quibusque ministris egerit, quamquam intelligat populus Romanus; tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere: si vera aperiret, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam: sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore; sese suasque spes corrupturum."

XXXIV. Dein, ubi Memmius dicendi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Bæbius, tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere jubet: ac tametsi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, sæpe impetu atque aliis omnibus, quæ ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex concione discessit; Jugurthæ Bestiæque et ceteris, quos illa quæstio exagitabat, animi augescunt.

XXXV. Ea erat tempestate Romæ Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulussæ filius, Masinissæ nepos; qui, quia, in dissensione regum, Jugurthæ adversus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale imperfecto, profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissæ sit, Jugurtham ob sclera invidia cum metu urgeat; regnum Numidiæ ab senatu petat. Avidus consul belli gerendi, moveri quam senescere omnia malebat: ipsi provincia

Numidia, Minucio Macedonia evenerat. Quæ postquam Massiva agitare cœpit, neque Jugurthæ in amicis satis præsidii est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et timor impediebat; Bomilcari, proximo ac maxime fido sibi, imperat, “pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivæ paret, ac maxime occulte; sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat.” Bomilcar mature regis mandata exsequitur: et, per homines talis negotii artifices, itinera egressusque ejus, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat: deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad cædem parati, paullo inconsultius Massivam adgreditur, illum obtruncat; sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus, et imprimis Albino consule, indicium profitetur. Fit reus magis ex æquo bonoque, quam ex jure gentium, Bomilcar, comes ejus qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha, manifestus tanti sceleris, non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam animum advertit, supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquam in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat; regno magis, quam vadibus consulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit, veritus, ne reliquos populares metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumptum foret. Et ipse paucis diebus profectus est, jussus ab senatu Italia decadere. Sed, postquam Roma egressus est, fertur, sæpe eo tacitus respiciens, postremo dixisse, **URBEM VENALEM ET MATURE PERITURAM, SI EMPTOREM INVENERIT!**

XXXVI. Interim Albinus, renovato bello, commeatum, stipendum, alia quæ militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis, aut deditione, aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia, et alias, deinde alias moræ causas facere: polliceri deditonem, ac deinde metum simulare: instanti cedere, et paullo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo, modo pacis mora, consulem ludificare. Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii regis existimarent, neque ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum secordia magis, quam dolo, crederent. Sed postquam, dilapo tempore, comitiorum dies adventabat, Albinus, Aulo fratre in castris pro prætore relicto, Romanum decessit.

XXXVII. Ea tempestate Romæ seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter respublica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annianus, tribuni plebis, resistantibus collegis, continuare magistratum nitebantur; quæ dissensio totius anni comitia impediebat. Ea

mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro prætore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiendi belli, aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniæ capienda, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat: magnis itineribus, hieme aspera, pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquam et sævitia temporis, et opportunitate loci, neque capi, neque obsideri poterat, (nam circum murum, situm in prærupti montis extremo, planities limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat,) tamen, aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine cæcus, vineas agere, aggerem jacere, alia, quæ incepto usui forent, properare.

XXXVIII. At Jugurtha, cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati, subdolus augere amentiam: missitare supplicantes legatos: ipse, quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule, in abditas regiones sese, veluti cedentem, insequeretur. Interea per homines callidos die noctuque exercitum tentabat: centuriones ducesque turmarum, partim uti transfugerent, alii, signo dato, locum uti desererent: ita delicta occultiora fore. Quæ postquam ex sententia instruit, intempesta nocte, de improviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, tumultu perculti insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare; trepidare omnibus locis: vis magna hostium; cœlum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum; periculum anceps: postremo fugere, an manere, tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paullo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum, cum duabus turmis Thracum, et paucis gregariis militibus, transiere ad regem: et centurio primi pili tertiae legionis, per munitionem, quam, uti defenderet, acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit: eaque Numidæ cuncti irrupere. Nostri fœda fuga, plerique abjectis armis, proximum collem occupavere. Nox atque præda castrorum hostes, quo minus victoria ute- rentur, remorata sunt. Dein Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit: “tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame, ferro clausum tenet, tamen se humanarum rerum memorem, si secum fœdus faceret, incolumes omnes sub jugum missurum: præterea, uti diebus decem Numidia decederet.” Quæ quamquam gravia et flagitiæ plena erant, tamen, quia mortis metu mutabant, sicuti regi libuerat, pax convenit.

XXXIX. Sed, ubi ea Romæ comperta sunt, metus atque mœror civitatem invasere: pars dolere pro gloria imperii: pars, insolita rerum bellicarum, timere libertati: Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxime qui bello sæpe præclarri fuerant, quod armatus dede-

core potius, quam manu salutem quæsiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus, ex delicto fratris invidiam, ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de foedere consulebat: et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere: ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia arcessere: denique modis omnibus festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit, **SUO ATQUE POPULI INJUSSU NULLUM, POTUISSE FÆDUS FIERI.** Consul impeditus a tribunis plebis ne, quas paraverat copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur: nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus, in provincia hiemabat. Postquam eo venit, quamquam persecuti Jugurtham et mederi fraternæ invidiæ animus ardebat; cognitis militibus, quos, præter fugam, soluto imperio, licentia atque lascivia corruperat, ex copia rerum statuit, nihil sibi agitandum.

**XL.** Interea Romæ C. Mamilius Limetanus, tribunus plebis, rogationem ad populum promulgat, “uti quæreretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglegisset; qui ab eo in legationibus, aut imperiis pecunias accepissent; qui elephantos, quique perfugas tradidissent; item qui de pace, aut bello, cum hostibus pactiones fecissent.” Huic rogationi, partim consci sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per amicos, ac maxime per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes, incredibile memoratu est, quam intenta fuerit, quantaque vi rogationem juss erit, decreverit, voluerit; magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura reipublicæ: tanta lubido in partibus erat. Igitur, ceteris metu percussis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiæ supra docuimus, inter lætitiam plebis, et suorum fugam, trepida etiam tum civitate, cum ex Mamilia rogatione tres quæsidores rogarentur, effecerat, uti ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed quæstio exercita aspere violenterque, ex rumore, et lubidine plebis: ut sæpe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

**XLI.** Ceterum mos partium popularium et senati factionum, ac deinde omnium malarum artium, paucis ante annis Romæ ortus est, otio et abundantia earum rerum, quæ prima mortales ducunt. Nam, ante Carthaginem deletam, populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rempublicam tractabant: neque gloriæ, neque dominationis certamen inter cives erat: metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed, ubi illa formido mentibus discessit; scilicet ea, quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Ita, quod

in adversis rebus optaverant, otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbiusque fuit. Namque cœpere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vertere: sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partes abstracta sunt; respublica, quæ media fuerat, dilacerata. Ceterum nobilitas factio magis pollebat: plebis vis, soluta atque dispersa in multitudine, minus poterat: paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur: penes eosdem ærarium, provinciæ, magistratus, gloriæ triumphique erant: populus militia atque inopia urgebatur: prædas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes, aut parvi liberi militum, ut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia, sine modo modestiaque, invadere, polluere, et vastare omnia; nihil pensi, neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa præcipitavit. Nam ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustæ potentiae anteponerent; moveri civitas, et permixtio civilis, quasi discessio terræ, oriri cœpit.

**XLII.** Nam postquam Tiberius et C. Gracchus, quorum majores Punico atque aliis bellis multum reipublicæ addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem, et paucorum scelera patefacere cœpere; nobilitas noxia, atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat; et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Caïum, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco, ferro necaverant. Et sane Gracchis, cupidine victoriae, haud satis moderatus animus fuit. Sed bono vinci satius est, quam malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubidine sua usa, multos mortales ferro aut fuga extinxit; plusque in reliquum sibi timoris, quam potentiae, addidit. Quæ res plerumque magnas civitates pessum dedit; dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo, et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed, de studiis partium et omnibus civitatis moribus si singulatim, aut pro magnitudine, parem disserere, tempus, quam res, maturius deseret. Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

**XLIII.** Post Auli foedus, exercitusque nostri fœdam fugam, Q. Metellus et M. Silanus, consules designati, provincias inter se partiverant: Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro, et quamquam adverso populi partium, fama tamen æquabili et inviolata. Is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui, milites scribere, præsidia undique arcessere: arma, tela, equos, cetera

instrumenta militiae parare: ad hoc commeatum affatim: deinde omnia, quae bello vario et multarum rerum egenti usui esse solent. Ceterum ad ea patranda senati auctoritate socii nomenque Latinum, reges ultiro auxilia mittere; postremo omnis civitas summo studio admitebatur. Itaque, ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, cum propter bonas artes, tum maxime, quod adversum divitias animum invictum gerebat; et avaritia magistratum ante id tempus in Numidia nostræ opes contusæ, hostiumque auctæ erant.

XLIV. Sed, ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur Sp. Albini pro consule, iners, imbellis, neque periculi, neque laboris patiens, lingua, quam manu, promptior, prædator ex sociis, et ipse præda hostium, sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinibus, quam ex copia militum auxilii, aut spei bonæ accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et aestivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, et exspectatione eventi civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum adtingere, quam majorum disciplina, milites laborare coëgisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade percusus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum temporis aestivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites stativis castris habebat: nisi cum odos, aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque more militari vigiliæ deducebantur: uti cuique lubebat, ab signis aberat. Lixæ permixti cum militibus die noctisque vagabantur, et palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum prædas certantes agere; eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio, et aliis talibus: præterea, frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari: postremo quæcumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviæ luxuriæque probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, et alia amplius.

XLV. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus, quam in rebus hostilibus, magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior; tanta temperantia inter ambitionem sævitiamque moderatum. Namque edicto primum adjumenta ignaviæ sustulisse, "ne quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet; ne lixæ exercitum sequerentur; ne miles gregarius in castris, neve in agmine servum aut jumentum haberet;" ceteris arte modum statuisse: præterea transversis itineribus quotidie castra movere; juxta, ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossa munire, vigilias crebras ponere, et ipse cum legatis circumire: item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, sæpe in medio adesse, ne quisquam ordine egre-

deretur, uti cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis, quam vindicando, exercitum brevi confirmavit.

XLVI. Interea Jugurtha, ubi, quæ Metellus agebat, ex nunciis accepit; simul de innocentia ejus certior Romæ factus, diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demum veram deditiorem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam ante experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum. Itaque legatos alium ab alio diversos adgreditur; ac, paullatim tentando, postquam opportunos cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet, "uti Jugurtham maxime vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent;" ceterum palam, quæ ex voluntate forent, regi nunciari jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus, intento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit: ubi, contra bellum faciem, tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris: ex oppidis et mapalibus, praefecti regis obvii procedebant, parati frumentum dare, commeatum portare, postremo omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere, et insidiis locum tentari. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, idem funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu, apud primos erat: in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat: in utrunque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortium disperterat, uti cum his permixti velites, quacumque accederent, equitatus hostium propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum et militiae erat, uti, absens an præsens, pacem an bellum gerens, perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

XLVII. Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vaga, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxime celebratum; ubi et incolere et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huic consul, simul tentandi gratia et si paterentur, opportunitate, loci, præsidium imposuit; præterea imperavit frumentum, et alia, quæ bello usui forent: ratus id, quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et commeatu juvaturam exercitum, et jam pacatis rebus munimento fore. Inter hæc negotia Jugurtha impensis modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare: præter suam liberorumque vitam, omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, consul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat;

regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere, neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

XLVIII. Jugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis compositum, ac se suis artibus tentari animadvertisit; quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur, ceterum re bellum aspernum erat, urbs maxima alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium tentati; coactus rerum necessitudine, statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriae adductus ex opportunitate loci, quas maximas copias potest omnium generum parat, ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidiae quam Adherbal in divisione posseuderat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul; a quo aberat mons ferme millia passuum xx, tractu pari, vastus ab natura et humano cultu: sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertingens, vestitus oleastro ac myrtetis, aliisque generibus arborum, quae humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. Media autem planities deserta, penuria aquae, praeter flumini propinqua loca: ea consita arbustis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

XLIX. Igitur in eo colle, quem transverso itinere porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha, extenuata suorum acie, consedit: elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrum Bomilcarem præfecit, eumque edocet, quæ ageret; ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu pedites delectos collocat: dein singulas turmas atque manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, “uti, memores pristinæ virtutis et victoriae seque regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant: cum his certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint: ducem illis, non animum mutantum: quæ ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis provisa: locum superiorem, uti prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consererent: proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato, Romanos invadere; illum diem aut omnes labores et victorias confirmaturum, aut maximarum ærumnarum initium fore.” Ad hoc viritim, ut quemque, ob militare facinus, pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, et eum ipsum aliis ostentare: postremo, pro cujusque ingenio, pollicendo, minitando, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare; cum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicatur: primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet, (nam inter virgulta equi Numidæque considerant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, et tamen incerti, quidnam esset; cum natura loci, tum dolo, ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati,) dein, brevi cognitis insidiis, paullisper agmen constitit: ibi,

commutatis ordinibus, in dextero latere, quod proximum hostes erat, triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit: inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispergit: equitatum omnem in cornibus locat; ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transversis principiis, in planum ducit.

L. Sed, ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi animadvertisit, veritus, ex anni tempore et inopia aquæ, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum præmisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet, existimans, hostes crebro impetu et transversis præliis iter suum remoratueros, et, quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim militum tentatueros. Dein ipse, pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere: Marium post principia habere: ipse cum sinistræ alæ equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extreum agmen Metelli primos suos prætergressum videt, præsidio quasi duum millium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat; ne forte cedentibus adversariis receptui, ac post munimento foret: dein, repente, signo dato, hostes invadit. Numidæ, alii postremos cædere: pars a sinistra ac dextera tentare: infensi adesse atque instare: omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare: quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto prælio, ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriendi, aut manum conserendi copia erat. Antea jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicumque Romanorum turba insequi cœperat, non confertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alias alio, quam maxime diversi. Ita numero priores, si ab persecundo hostes detergere nequierant, disjectos ab tergo, aut lateribus circumveniebant: sin opportunior fugæ collis, quam campi fuerant, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere; nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebant.

LI. Ceterum facies totius negotii varia, incerta, fœda, atque miserabilis: dispersa a suis pars cedere, alii insequi: neque signa, neque ordines observare: ubi quemque periculum cœperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare: arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permixti: nihil consilio, neque imperio agi: fors omnia regere. Itaque multum diei processerat, cum etiam tum eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore et æstu languidis, Metellus ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paullatim milites in unum conductit, ordines restituit, et cohortes legionarias quatuor adversum pedites hostium collocat: eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa conserderat. Simul orare, hortari milites, "ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostes fugientes vin-

cere: neque illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum, quo cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia sita." Sed ne Jugurtha quidem interea quietus: circumire, hortari, renovare prælrium, et ipse cum delectis tentare omnia; subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

LII. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant; ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus adversus: Jugurthæ alia omnia, præter milites, opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intelligunt, neque sibi perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, et jam diei vesper erat; adverso colle, sicuti præceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco, Numidæ fusi fugatique: pauci interiere; plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium præfectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius prætergressus est, paullatim suos in æquum locum deducit: ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo præmissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat: neque remittit, quid ubique hostis ageret, explorare. Postquam Rutilium conseditte jam, et animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Jugurthæ prælio clamorem augeri; veritus, ne legatus, cognita re, laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam, diffidens virtuti militum arce statuerat, quo hostium itineri obficeret, latius porrigit; eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

LIII. Romani ex improviso pulveris vim magnam animadvertisunt, nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari: post, ubi æquabilem manere, et, sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque adpropinquare vident, cognita re, properantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi proprius ventum, utrimque magno clamore concurrunt. Numide tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant; postquam impeditos ramis arborum, atque ita disjectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt: ac plerique, abjectis armis, collis, aut noctis, quæ jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quatuor capti, reliqui omnes, numero quadraginta, imperfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et prælio fessi lætique erant; tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo, obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu, velut hostes, adventare, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul, et tumultum facere: et pæne imprudentia ad-

missum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque præmissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur, pro metu, repente gaudium exortum, milites alius alium læti adpellant, acta edocent atque audiunt: sua quisque fortia facta ad cœlum ferre. Quippe res humanæ ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet: adversæ res etiam bonos detractant.

LIV. Metellus in isdem castris quatriduo moratus, saucios cum cura reficit, meritos in præliis more militiæ donat, universos in concione laudat, atque agit gratias; hortatur, ad cetera, quæ levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro præda fore. Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium, aut quid agitaret, cum paucisne esset, an exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat; ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis, quam belli cultorem. Id ea gratia eveniebat, quod præter regios equites, nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem sequitur; quo cujusque animus fert, eo discedunt: neque id flagitium militiæ ducitur: ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus ubi videt regis etiam tum animum ferocem; bellum renovari, quod, nisi ex illius lubidine, geri non posset; præterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detimento illos vinci, quam suos vincere; statuit non prælii, neque acie, sed alio more bellum gerendum. Itaque in Numidiæ loca opulentissima pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida, temere munita, aut sine præsidio, capit incenditque, puberes interfici jubet: alia omnia militum præda esse. Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides; frumentum et alia, quæ usui forent, adfatum præbita; ubicumque res postulabat, præsidium impositum. Quæ negotia multo magis, quam prælium male pugnatum ab suis, regem terrebant: quippe, cui spes omnis in fuga sita, sequi cogebatur; et qui sua loca defendere nequierat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex copia, quod optimum videbatur, consilium capit: exercitum plerumque in isdem locis opperiri jubet; ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur: nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantes repente adgreditur: eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur; nemo omnium intactus profugit: et Numidæ prius, quam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proximos colles discedunt.

LV. Interim Romæ gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus: ut seque et exercitum more majorum gereret; in adverso loco, vitor tamen virtute fuissest; hostium agro poti-

retur ; Jugurtham magnificentum ex Auli secordia, spem salutis in solitudine, aut fuga, coëgisset habere. Itaque senatus OB EA FELICITER ACTA DIS IMMORTALIBUS SUPPLICIA DECERNERE : civitas, trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu, lœta agere : fama de Metello præclara esse. Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare ; cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret : meminisse, post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita, quo clarius erat, eo magis animi anxius : neque, post insidias Jugurthæ, effuso exercitu prædari : ubi frumento, aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu præsidium agitabant : exercitus partim ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis, quam præda, ager vastabatur. Duobus locis, haud longe inter se, castra faciebant : ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant ; ceterum, quo fuga atque formido latius crescerent, diversi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per colles sequi : tempus aut locum pugnæ querere : qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontes, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere : modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere : postremos in agmine tentare, ac statim in colles regredi ; rurus aliis, post aliis, minitari ; neque prælium facere, neque otium pati ; tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

LVI. Romanus imperator, ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam, et in ea parte, qua sita erat, arcem regni, nomine Zamam, statuit ob-pugnare ; ratus, id quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique prælium fore. At ille, quæ parabantur, a perfugis eductus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit ; oppidanos hortatur, mœnia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere nequibant, firmissimum. Præterea pollicetur, in tempore semet cum exercitu adfore. Ita compositis rebus, in loca quam maxime occulta discedit, ac post paullo cognoscit, Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum ; quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergit, et jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit : simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur, “uti cohortes ab tergo circumveniant : fortunam præclarri facinoris casum dare : si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate, sine metu ætatem acturos.” Ac, ni Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti, aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent : tanta mobilitate sese Numidæ agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini paullisper ab rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis, profugi discedunt.

LVII. Marius ad Zamam pervenit: id oppidum in campo situm, magis opere, quam natura munitum erat; nullius idoneæ rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus, pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus, cuncta mœnia exercitu circumvenit: legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret: deinde, signo dato, undique simul clamor ingens oritur: neque ea res Numidas terret; infensi intentique sine tumultu manent: prælrium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare; alii succedere, ac murum modo subfodere, modo scalis adgredi: cupere prælrium [in] manibus facere. Contra ea oppidani in proximos saxa volvere: sudes, pila, præterea pice et sulphure tædam mixtam, ardentia mittere. Sed nec illos, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat: nam plerosque jacula, tormentis, aut manu emissâ, vulnerabant; parique periculo, sed fama impari, boni atque ignavi erant.

LVIII. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improviso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit; remissis, qui in præsidio erant, et omnia magis quam prælrium, exspectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentina metu perculti, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere, alii arma capere: magna pars vulnerati, aut occisi. Ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta, memores nominis Romani, grege facto, locum cepere, paullo, quam alii, editorem: neque inde maxima vi depelli quiverunt: sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrati: sin Numidæ proprius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere, et eos maxima vi cædere, fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus, cum acerrime rem gereret, clamorem hostilem ab tergo accepit: dein, converso equo, animadvertisit, fugam ad se versum fieri; quæ res indicabat populares esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere mittit, ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum; eumque, lacrimans, per amicitiam perque rem publicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostes inultos abire sinat: ille brevi mandata efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, cum alii super vallum præcipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes obficerent, multis amissis, in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revertitur.

LIX. Igitur postero die, prius, quam ad obpugnandum egredetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare jubet: portas et proxima loca tribunis dispergit: deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum, atque, ut superiore

die, murum adgreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit: qui in proximo locati fuerant, paullisper territi perturbantur; reliqui cito subveniunt. Neque diutius Numidæ resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent: quibus illi freti, non, ut equestri prælio solet, sequi, dein cedere; sed adversis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem; ita expeditis peditibus suis, hostes pæne victos dare.

LX. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus, aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrime niti; neque alius in alio magis, quam in sese, spem habere: pariter oppidani agere; obpugnare, aut parare omnibus locis: avidius alteri alteros sauciare, quam semet tegere: clamor permixtus hortatione, lætitia, gemitu; item strepitus armorum ad cœlum ferri: tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui mœnia defensabant, ubi hostes paululum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti prælium equestre prospectabant: eos, uti quæque Jugurthæ res erant, lætos modo, modo pavidos animadverteres; ac, sicuti audiri a suis, aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut niti corporibus, et huc, illuc, quasi vitabundi, aut jacientes tela, agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est (nam is in ea parte curabat), consulto lenius agere, ac diffidentiam rei simulare: pati Numidas sine tumultu regis prælium visere. Ita illis studio suorum adstrictis, repente magna vi murum adgreditur: et jam scalis aggressi milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia præterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primo resistere: deinde, ubi unæ atque alteræ scalæ comminutæ, qui supersteterant adficti sunt; ceteri, quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars confecti vulneribus abeunt. Denique utrimque prælium nox diremit.

LXI. Metellus, postquam videt frustra inceptum, neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis, aut suo loco pugnam facere, et jam æstatem exactam esse, ab Zama discedit; et in his urbibus, quæ ad se defecerant, satisque munitæ loco, aut mœniis erant, præsidia imponit. Ceterum exercitum in provinciam, qua proxima est Numidiæ, hiemandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus, ex aliorum more, quieti, aut luxuriaæ concedit: sed, quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere, et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romæ cum Jugurtha fuerat, et inde, vadibus datis, clam de Massivæ nece judicium fugerat, quod ei, per maximam amicitiam, maxima copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus adgreditur; ac primo

efficit, uti ad se colloquendi gratia occultus veniat: dein fide data, " si Jugurtham vivum aut necatum tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus impunitatem et sua omnia concederet," facile. Numidæ persuadet, cum ingenio infido, tum metuenti, ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per conditiones ad supplicium traheretur.

LXII. Is, ubi primum opportunum, Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit: monet atque lacrimans obtestatur, "uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum, optime merenti, provideat: omnibus præliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortales captos aut occisos, regni opes comminutas esse: satis sæpe jam et virtutem militum, et fortunam tentatam: caveret, ne, illo cunctante, Numidæ sibi consulant." His atque talibus aliis ad deditiōnē regis animū impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatōrem legati: "Jugurtham imperata facturum, ac sine ulla pactiōne sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere." Metellus propere cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis arcessiri jubet: eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum, ex consiliī decreto, per legatos Jugurthæ imperat argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantes omnes, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quæ postquam sine mora facta sunt, jubet omnes perfugas vincētos adduci: eorum magna pars, ut jussum erat, adducti; pauci cum primum deditiō cœpit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretaniam abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus, cum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rursus cœpit flectere animum suum, et ex mala conscientia digna timere. Denique multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis; cum modo tædio rerum adversarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus in servitiū ex regno foret; multis magnisque præsidiis nequidquam perditis, de integrō bellum sumit. Romæ senatus de provinciis consultus Numidiam Metello decreverat.

LXIII. Per idem tempus Uticæ forte C. Mario, per hostias dis supplicantī, " magna atque mirabilia portendi" haruspex dixerat: " proinde quæ animo agitatbat, fretus dis ageret; fortunam quam sæpissime experiretur; cuncta prospera evenitura." At illum jam antea consulatus ingens cupidō exagitabat: ad quem capiendum, præter vetustatem familie, alia omnia abunde erant: industria, probitas, militiæ magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubidinis et divitiarum vitor, tantummodo gloriæ avidus. Sed his natus, et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum ætas militiæ patiens fuit,

stipendiis faciendis, non Græca facundia, neque urbanis munditii sese exercuit: ita inter artes bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militare a populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facile notus per omnes tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit; semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, uti ampliore, quam gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is, ad id locorum talis vir (nam postea ambitione præceps datus est), consulatum appetere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore, et quasi pollutus haberetur.

LXIV. Igitur, ubi Marius haruspicis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupidio animi hortabatur, ab Metello petendi gratia missionem rogat: cui quamquam virtus, gloria atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemtor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum commotus insolita re, mirari ejus consilium, et quasi per amicitiam monere, “ne tam prava inciperet, neu super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus cupienda esse: debere illi res suas satis placere: postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi jure negaretur.” Postquam hæc atque talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur, respondit, “ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese, quæ peteret.” Ac postea sæpius eadem postulanti, fertur dixisse, “ne festinaret abire: satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum.” Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter xx. Quæ res Marium cum pro honore, quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine atque ira, pessimis consultoribus, grassari; neque facto ullo, neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitiosum foret: milites, quibus in hibernis præerat, laxiore imperio quam antea, habere: apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticæ erat, criminose simul, et magnifice de bello loqui: “dimidia pars exercitus sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum; ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis et regiæ superbiæ imperio nimis gauderet.” Quæ omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiares corruerant, et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

LXV. Erat præterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissæ nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredem scripserat, morbis confectus, et ob eam causam mente paullum imminuta. Cui

Metellus petenti, more regum uti sellam juxta poneret, item postea custodiae causa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat; honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges adpellavisset; præsidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidæ traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium adgreditur atque hortatur, uti contumeliarum imperatoris cum suo auxilio pœnas petat: hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit: "illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissæ nepotem esse: si Jugurtha captus, aut occisus, imperium Numidæ sine mora habiturum: id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret." Itaque et illum, et equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque spes pacis impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus honestissima suffragatione consulatus petebatur: simul ea tempestate plebes, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

LXVI. Interim Jugurtha postquam, omissa deditione, bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum: civitates, quæ ab se defecerant, formidine, aut ostentando præmia affectare: communire suos locos; arma, tela, alia, quæ spe pacis amiserat, reficere, aut commercari: servitia Romanorum adlicere, et eos ipsos, qui in præsidiis erant, pecunia tentare: prorsus nihil intactum, neque quietum pati: cuncta agitare. Igitur Vagenses, quo Metellus initio, Jugurtha pacificante, præsidium imposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciis, neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant: nam vulgus, uti plerumque solet, et maxime Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio adversum. Dein, compositis inter se rebus, diem tertium constituunt, quod is, festus celebratusque per omnem Africam, ludum et lasciviam magis, quam formidinem ostentabat. Sed, ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militares, et ipsum præfectum oppidi, T. Turpilium Silanum, alias alium, domos suas invitauit: eos omnes, præter Turpilium, inter epulas obtruncant: postea milites palantes, inermos, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, adgrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis, acta consiliumque ignorantibus, tumultus ipse et res novæ satis placebant.

LXVII. Romani milites, improviso metu, incerti ignarique

quid potissimum facerent, trepidare ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant: praesidium hostium, portae ante clausae fugam prohibebant; ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis aedificiorum saxa, et alia, quae locus præbebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri anceps malum, neque a fortissimis infirmissimo generi resisti posse: juxta boni malique, strenui et imbelles, inulti obtruncati. In ea tanta asperitate, saevissimis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, Turpilius unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus: id misericordiane hospitis, an pactione, an casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita fama integra potior, improbus intestabilisque videtur.

LXVIII. Metellus, postquam de rebus Vagæ actis comperit, paullisper mœstus e conspectu abit; deinde, ubi ira et ægritudo permixta, cum maxima cura ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et, quam plurimos potest, Numidas equites, pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit: et postera die circiter horam tertiam pervenit in quamdam planitiem, locis paullo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine, et jam abnuentes omnia, docet, "oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse: decere illos reliquum laborem æquo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis atque miserrimis, poenas caperent;" præterea prædam benigne ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo late, pedites quam arctissime ire, signa occultare jubet.

LXIX. Vagenses ubi animum advertere, ad se versum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum rati, portas clausere; deinde, ubi neque agros vastari, et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque, repente signo dato, alii vulgum effusum oppido cædere; alii ad portas festinare; pars turres capere: ira atque prædæ spes amplius, quam lassitudo posse. Ita Vagenses biduum modo ex perfidia lætati: civitas magna et opulens poenæ cuncta, aut prædæ fuit. Turpilius quem, præfectum oppidi, unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, jussus a Metello causam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus, verberatusque, capite poenas solvit: nam is civis ex Latio erat.

LXX. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cuius impulsu Jugurtha deditioinem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi, et ipse eum suspiciens, novas res cupere; ad perniciem ejus dolum quærere; diu noctuque fatigare animum: denique omnia tentando, socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem,

magnis opibus, carum acceptumque popularibus suis; qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare, et omnes res exsequi solitus erat, quae Jugurthæ fesso, aut majoribus ad stricto superaverant: ex quo illi gloria opesque inventæ. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur: cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager, inultis hostibus, vastaretur. Is postquam, magnitudine facinoris perculsus, ad tempus non venit, metusque rem impeditiebat, Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi, et timore socii anxius, ne, omissa vetere consilio, novum quereret, litteras ad eum per homines fideles mittit, "mollitiem secordiamque viri accusare: testari deos, per quos juravisset: præmia Metelli in pestem ne converteret: Jugurthæ exitium adesse, ceterum suane, an virtute Metelli periret, id modo agitari: proinde reputaret cum animo suo, præmia, an cruciatum, mallet."

LXXI. Sed, cum hæ litteræ adlatæ, forte Nabdalsa, exercito corpore fessus, in lecto quiescebat; ubi, cognitis Bomilcaris verbis, primo cura, deinde, uti ægrum animum solet, somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam, negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque, et omnium consiliorum, nisi novissimi, particeps. Qui postquam adlatas litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus opera et ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introivit: dormiente illo, epistolam, super caput in pulvino temere positam, sumit ac perlegit; dein propere, cognitis insidiis, ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa, post paullo experrectus, ubi neque epistolam reperit, et rem omnem, uti acta erat, cognovit, primo indicem persequi conatus; postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia accedit: "quæ ipse paravisset, perfidia clientis sui præventa:" lacrimans obtestatur "per amicitiam, perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet."

LXXII. Ad ea rex aliter, atque animo gerebat, placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, imperfectis, iram oppresserat; ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthæ dies aut nox ulla quieta fuere: neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam, aut tempori satis credere: cives, hostes juxta metuere: circumspectare omnia, et omni strepitu pavescere: alio atque alio loco, saepe contra decus regium, noctu requiescere: interdum somno excitus, arreptis armis tumultum facere: ita formidine, quasi vecordia, exagitari.

LXXIII. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio

patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus, tamquam ad integrum bellum, cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de profectione, simul et invitum, et offendum sibi, parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romæ plebes, litteris, quæ de Metello ac Mario missæ erant, cognitis, volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quæ antea decori, invidiæ esse: at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat: ceterum in utroque magis studia partium, quam bona, aut mala sua, moderata sunt. Præterea, seditiosi magistratus vulgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus concionibus capitis arcere, Marii virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitæ erant, relicts operibus, frequentarent Marium, et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita, perculsa nobilitate, post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur: et postea populus, a tribuno plebis, Manilio Mancino, rogatus, **QUEM VELLET CUM JUGURTHA BELLUM GERERE?** frequens Marium jussit. Senatus paullo ante Metello decreverat: ea res frustra fuit.

LXXIV. Eodem tempore Jugurtha, amissis amicis, quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant; cum neque bellum geri sine administris posset, et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius incertusque agitabat; neque illi res, neque consilium, aut quisquam hominum satis placebat: itinera praefectosque in dies mutare: modo adversum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere: sæpe in fuga, ac post paullo spem in armis habere: dubitare, virtuti popularium, an fide, minus crederet: ita, quocumque intenderat, res adversæ erant. Sed, inter eas moras, repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidæ ab Jugurtha pro tempore parati instructaque: dein prælium incipitur. Qua in parte rex adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum: ceteri omnes ejus milites primo concursu pulsi fugatiue. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti: nam ferme Numidas in omnibus præliis pedes magis, quam arma tutata sunt.

LXXV. Ea fuga, Jugurtha impensis modo rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum et opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri, filiorumque ejus multus pueritiae cultus erat. Quæ postquam Metello comperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proximum, spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen, spe

patrandi belli, si ejus oppidi potitus foret, omnes asperitates supervadere, ac naturam etiam vincere adgreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levari jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem: ceterum utres modo, et alia aquæ idonea portari. Præterea conquirit ex agris quam plurimum potest domiti pecoris; eoque imponit vasa cujusque modi, pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc, finitimus imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquæ portarent; diem locumque, ubi præsto fuerint, prædictit. Ipse ex flumine, quam proximam oppido aquam supra diximus, jumenta onerat: eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde, ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis præceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente cœlo missa vis aquæ dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Præterea commeatus spe amplior: quia Numidae, sicuti plerique in nova ditione, officia intenderant. Ceterum milites, religione, pluvia magis usi: eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese dis immortalibus curæ esse. Deinde postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthæ, ad Thalam pervenient. Oppidanî, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re perculti, nihilo segnissimum bellum parare: idem nostri facere.

LXXVI. Sed rex nihil jam infectum Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam, ceteris imperitantem, industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex oppido noctu profugit: neque postea in ullo loco amplius una die, aut una nocte moratus, simulabat sese negotii gratia properare; ceterum proditionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat: nam talia consilia per otium, et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos prælio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque moenia circumvenit. Deinde locis ex copia maxime idoneis vineas agere, aggerem jacere, et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra hæc oppidanî festinare, parare: prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo ante labore præliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti: præda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum arietibus feriri, resque suas afflictas vident, aurum atque argentum, et alia, quæ prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant: ibi, vino et epulis onerati, illaque, et domum, et semet igni corrumpunt; et quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pendere.

LXXVII. Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes, "uti præsidium præfectumque eo mitteret: Hamilcarem quemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere; adversum quem neque imperia magistratum, neque leges valerent: ni id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore." Nam Leptitani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam consulem, et postea Romanam miserant, amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta a Bestia, Albino, Metelloque imperata gnave fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile, quæ petebant, adepti. Eo missæ cohortes Ligurum quatuor, et C. Annius præfектus.

LXXVIII. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum, quos accepimus, profugos ob discordias civiles, navibus in eos locos venisse: ceterum situm inter duas Syrtes, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura: quorum proxima terræ prealta sunt: cetera, uti fors tulit, alta; alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam, ubi mare magnum esse, et sævire ventis cœpit, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. [Syrtes ab tractu nominatae.] Ejus civitatis lingua modo conversa connubio Numidarum: leges, cultusque pleraque Sidonica; quæ eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis ætatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

LXXIX. Sed, quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur, egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem nos locus admonuit. Qua tempestate Carthaginenses pleræque Africæ imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulentii fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, una specie: neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui fines eorum discerneret; quæ res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque legiones, item classes fusæ fugatæque, et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriverant; vèriti, ne mox victos victoresque defessos alias adgredieretur, per inducias sponzionem faciunt, "uti certo die legati domo proficiserentur; quo in loco inter se obviij fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur." Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philænis erat, maturavere iter pergere: Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id secordiane, an casu acciderit, parum cognovi. Ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus, atque in mari, retinere. Nam ubi, per loca æqualia et nuda gignentium, ventus coortus are-

nam humo excitavit, ea, magna vi agitata, ora oculosque implere solet; ita prospectu impedito, morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se vident, et ob rem corruptam domi poenas metuunt; criminari, Carthaginienses ante tempus domo digressos, conturbare rem: denique omnia malle, quam victi abire. Sed cum Pœni aliam conditionem, tantummodo æquam, peterent, Græci optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, *“vel illi, quos fines populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur; vel eadem conditione sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros.”* Philæni, conditione probata, seque vitamque reipublicæ condonavere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philænis fratribus aras consecravere; aliique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

LXXX. Jugurtha postquam, amissa Thala, nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gætulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque, et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit; ac paullatim consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Præterea regis Bocchi proximos magnis muneribus, et majoribus promissis, ad studium sui perducit; quis adjutoribus regem adgressus, impellit, uti adversum Romanos bellum suscipiat. Id ea gratia facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus, initio hujusce belli, legatos Romam miserat, fœdus et amicitiam petitum; quam rem, opportunissimam incepto bello, pauci impediverant, cæci avaritia, quis omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurthæ filia Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur: quod singuli, pro opibus quisque, quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent; sed reges eo amplius. Ita animus multitudine distrahitur; nulla pro socia obtinet; pariter omnes viles sunt.

LXXXI. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt: ibi, fide data et accepta, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accedit: “Romanos injustos, profunda avaritia, communes omnium hostes esse: eamdem illos causam belli cum Bocco habere, quam secum et cum, aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi: quis omnia regna adversa sint: tum sese, paullo ante Carthaginienses, item regem Persen, post, uti quisque opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore.” His atque aliis talibus dictis, ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt; quod ibi Metellus prædam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus, aut, capta urbe, operæ pretium fore; aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, prælio sese certa-

turos. Nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem immi-nuere ; ne moras agitando, aliud quam bellum, mallet.

LXXXII. Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere, neque, uti saepe jam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit : ceterum haud procul ab Cirta, castris munitis, reges opperitur ; melius ratus, cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis accesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Roma per litteras certior fit, provinciam Numidiam Mario datam : nam consulem factum, jam antea acceperat. Quis rebus supra bonum atque honestum percussus, neque lacrimas tenere, neque moderari linguam : vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter ægritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vertebant : alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse : multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur : nobis satis cognitum, illum magis honore Marii, quam injuria sua excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si ademta provincia alii quam Mario traderetur.

LXXXIII. Igitur, eo dolore impeditus, et quia stultitiae videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, postulatum, “ne sine causa hostis populo Romano fieret : habere eum magnam copiam societatis amicitiaeque conjungendæ, quæ potior bello esset : quamquam opibus consideret, non debere incerta pro certis mutare ; omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum ægerrime desinere : non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse : incipere cuivis, etiam ignavo, licere ; deponi, cum victores velint : proinde sibi regnoque consuleret, neu florentes res suas cum Jugurthæ perditis misseret.” Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit : “sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthæ fortunarum misereri ; si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura.” Rursus imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuncios mittit : ille probare partim, partim abnuere. Eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque nunciis, tempus procedere, et, ex Metelli voluntate, bellum intactum trahi.

LXXXIV. At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissima plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati, tum vero multus atque ferox instare : singulos modo, modo universos lædere : dictitare, “sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse ;” alia præterea magnifica pro se, et illis dolentia. Interim, quæ bello opus erant, prima habere : postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque arcessere : præterea ex Latio fortissimum quemque, plerosque militiæ, paucos fama cognitos accire, et ambiendo cogere homines

emeritis stipendiis secum proficisci. Neque illi senatus, quamquam adversus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; ceterum supplementum etiam laetus decreverat: quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur, et Marius aut belli usum aut studia vulgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata; tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque praeda locupletem, victorem, domum redditum, alia hujuscemodi animis trahebant: et eos non paullum oratione sua Marius arreverat. Nam, postquam, omnibus quae postulaverat decretis, milites scribere vult, hortandi causa simul, et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

LXXXV. "Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non isdem artibus imperium a vobis petere, et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere: primo industrios, supplices, modicos esse; dehinc per ignaviam et superbiam aetatem agere: sed mihi contra ea videtur. Nam, quo universa respublica pluris est, quam consulatus aut praetura, eo majore cura illam administrari, quam haec peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo beneficio vestro negotii sustineam. Bellum parare simul, et aerario parcere: cogere ad militiam, quos nolis offendere; domi forisque omnia curare; et ea agere inter invidos, occursantes, factiosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc, alii si delinquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum facta fortia, cognatorum et affinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia haec praesidio adsunt: mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas necesse est et virtute et innocentia tutari: nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intelligo, Quirites, omnium ora in me conversa esse: aequos bonosque favere: quippe benefacta mea reipublicae procedunt; nobilitatem locum invadendi querere. Quo mihi acrius admittendum est, ut neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint. Ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui, ut omnes labores, pericula consueta habeam. Quae ante vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti, accepta mercede, deseram, non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in protestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere: mihi, qui omnem aetatem in optimis artibus egi, benefacere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis: quam rem nobilitas aegerrime tulit. Quæso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutare melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc, aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiæ ac multarum imaginum, et nullius stipendii: scilicet ut in tanta re, ignarus omnium, trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii. Ita plerumque evenit, ut, quem vos imperare

jussistis, is imperatorem alium quærat. Ac ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam consules facti sunt, acta majorum, et Græcorum militaria præcepta legere cœperint; homines præposteri. Nam gerere, quam fieri, tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. Quæ illi audire et legere solent, eorum partim vidi, alia egomet gessi: quæ illi litteris, ego militando didici. Nunc vos existimate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego illorum ignaviam: mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur; quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existimo, sed fortissimum quemque generosissimum. Ac, si jam ex patribus Albini, aut Bestiæ, quæri posset, mene, an illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid responsuros creditis, nisi, sese liberos quam optimos voluisse? Quod si jure me despiciunt, faciant idem majoribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas cœpit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant et labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per hæc illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia ita ætatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnunt; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. Ne, illi falsi sunt, qui diversissimas res pariter exspectant, ignaviae voluptatem, et præmia virtutis. Atque etiam cum apud vos, aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores suos extollunt: eorum fortia facta memorando clariiores sese putant; quod contra est. Nam quanto vita illorum præclarior, tanto horum secordia flagitosior. Et profecto ita se res habet: majorum gloria posteris lumen est, neque bona neque mala in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites; verum id, quod multo præclarius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte, quam iniqui sint. Quod ex aliena virtute sibi adrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt: scilicet, quia imagines non habeo, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est; quam certe peperisse melius est, quam acceptam corrupisse. Evidem ego non ignoro, si jam responderet velint, abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. Sed in maximo vestro beneficio, cum omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem, ex animi sententia, nulla oratio lædere potest: quippe vera necesse est bene prædicet; falsam vita moresque mei superant. Sed, quoniam vestra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem, et maximum negotium imposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num id penitendum sit. Non possum fidei causa imagines, neque triumphos, aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare: at, si res postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria

dona ; præterea, cicatrices adverso corpore. Hæ sunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas, non hæreditate relictæ, ut illa illis, sed quæ ego plurimis laboribus et periculis quæsivi. Non sunt composita verba mea ; parum id facio ; ipsa se virtus satis ostendit : illis artificio opus est, uti turpia facta oratione tegant. Neque litteras Græcas didici ; parum placebat eas discere, quippe quæ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multo optima reipublicæ doctus sum ; hostem ferire, præsidia agitare : nihil metuere, nisi turpem famam ; hiemem et æstatem juxta pati ; humi requiescere ; eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego præceptis milites hor-tabor : neque illos arcte colam, me opulenter ; neque gloriā meam laborem illorum faciam. Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque, cum tute per mollitiem agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est, dominum, non imperatorem esse. Hæc atque talia majores vestri faciendo seque remque publicam celebravere : quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum æmulos contemnit ; et omnes honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos, a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quæ licet, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui præclararunt : virtutem non reliquere ; neque poterant : ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii coquum quam villicum, habeo ; quæ mihi lubet confiteri. Nam ex parente meo, et ex sanctis viris ita accepi, munditas mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriæ, quam divitiarum : arma, non supellectilem, decori esse. Quin ergo, quod juvat, quod carum æstimant, id semper faciant : ament, potent ; ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissimæ parti corporis ; sudorem, pulverem, et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verum non est ita. Nam, ubi se omnibus flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, bonorum præmia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissime luxuria et ignavia, pessimæ artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil obficiunt ; reipublicæ innoxiae cladi sunt. Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi, pauca de republica loquar. Primum omnium, de Numidia bonum habetote animum, Quirites. Nam, quæ ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est, locorum sciens ; sed mehercule magis strenuus, quam felix. Nam magna pars avaritia aut temeritate ducum adtrita est.

Quamobrem vos, quibus militaris ætas, adnitimini mecum, et capessite rempublicam: neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum, aut imperatorum superbia, metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in prælio consultor idem, et socius periculi vobiscum adero: meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto, dis juvantibus, omnia matura sunt, victoria, præda, laus: quæ si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnes bonos reipublicæ subvenire decebat. Etenim ignavia nemo immortalis factus: neque quisquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto."

LXXXVI. Hujuscemodi oratione habita, Marius postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere commeatu, stipendio, armis, aliis utilibus naves onerat: cum his A. Manlium legatum proficiisci jubet. Ipse interea milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus, sed uti cujusque lubido erat, capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii inopia bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant; quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat; et homini potentiam quærenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus, cui neque sua curæ, quippe quæ nulla sunt, et omnia cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum majore aliquanto numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus, diebus paucis Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato; nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat, ne videret ea, quæ audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

LXXXVII. Sed consul, expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem et præda onustum proficiscitur: omnia ibi capta militibus donat: dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum munita adgreditur: prælia multa, ceterum levia, alia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnæ adesse: videre fugientes capi, occidi; fortissimum quemque tutissimum; armis libertatem, patriam parentesque et alia omnia tegi; gloriam atque divitias quæri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium æqualis facta. At reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, diversi in locos difficiles abeunt. Ita Jugurthæ placuerat, speranti, mox effusos hostes invadi posse; Romanos, sicuti plerosque, remoto metu, laxius licentiusque futuros.

LXXXVIII. Metellus interea Romam profectus, contra spem suam, lætissimis animis excipitur; plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter attendere:

cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contra esset: explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias antevenire: nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati. Itaque et Gætulos et Jugurtham, ex sociis nostris prædam agentes, sæpe adgressus itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta armis exuerat. Quæ postquam gloria modo, neque belli patrandi, cognovit, statuit urbes, quæ viris aut loco pro hostibus, et adversum se opportunissimæ erant, singulas circumvenire: ita Jugurtham aut præsidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut prælio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuncios ad eum sæpe miserat, "velle populi Romani amicitiam; ne quid ab se hostile timeret." Id simulaveritne, quo improviso gravior accideret, an mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum.

LXXXIX. Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire: partim vi, alia metu, aut præmia ostentando avertere ab hostibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat, existimans, Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed, ubi procul abesse, et aliis negotiis intentum accepit, majora et magis aspera adgredi tempus visum. Erat inter ingentes solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa, cuius conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes, levi imperio, et ob ea fidelissimi habebantur: muniti adversum hostes non mœnibus modo, et armis atque viris, multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam, præter oppido propinquia, alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquæ, infesta serpentibus: quarum vis, sicuti omnium ferarum, inopia cibi acrior: ad hoc natura serpentium, ipsa perniciosa, siti magis, quam alia re, acceditur. Ejus potiendi Marium maxima cupido invaserat, cum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur; et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque; nisi quod apud Thalam haud longe a mœnibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo, atque ea intra oppidum, jugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique, et in omni Africa, quæ procul a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidæ plerumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur, neque salem, neque alia irritamenta gulæ quærebant; cibus illis adversum famem atque sitim, non lubidini, neque luxuriæ erat.

XC. Igitur consul, omnibus exploratis, credo, dis fretus; nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat; quippe etiam frumenti inopia tentabatur, quod Numidæ pabulo pecoris magis, quam arvo student, et quodcumque natum fuerat, jussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager

autem aridus et frugum vacuus ea tempestate, nam æstatis extreum erat; tamen pro rei copia satis providenter exornat; pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus prædæ fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum adtribuit: A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium et commatum locaverat, ire jubet; se prædabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occulto, pergit ad flumen Tanam.

XCI. Ceterum in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas, æqualiter distribuerat, et ex coriis utres uti fierent curabat: simul et inopiam frumenti lenire, et, ignaris omnibus, parare, quæ mox usui forent. Denique sexto die, cum ad flumen ventum est, maxima vis utrium effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere, atque, uti simul cum occasu solis egredorentur, paratos esse jubet; omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua modo seque et jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur, noctemque totam itinere facto, consedit: idem proxima facit: dein tertia, multo ante lucis adventum, pervenit in locum tumulosum, ab Capsa non amplius duum millium intervallo; ibique, quam occultissime potest, cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed, ubi dies cœpit, et Numidæ, nihil hostile metuentes, multi oppido egressi; repente omnem equitatum, et cum his velocissimos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam, et portas obsidere jubet: deinde ipse intentus propere sequi, neque milites prædari sinere. Quæ postquam oppidani cognovere; res trepidæ, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra mœnia in hostium potestate, coëgere, uti deditioñem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incensum: Numidæ puberes imperfecti; alii omnes venum dati: præda militibus divisa. Id facinus contra jus belli, non avaritia, neque scelere consulis admissum; sed quia locus Jugurthæ opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile, infidum, neque beneficio, neque metu coërcitum.

XCII. Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit; magnus et clarus antea, major et clarior haberi cœpit. Omnia, non bene consulta modo, verum etiam casu data, in virtutem trahebantur: milites, modesto imperio habití simul, et locupletes, ad cœlum ferre: Numidæ magis quam mortalem timere: postremo omnes socii atque hostes credere illi aut mentem divinam, aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit: pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit: plura deserta, propter Capsensium miserias, igni corruptit: luctu atque cæde omnia complentur. Denique, multis locis potitus, ac plerisque

exercitu incruento, ad aliam rem adgreditur, non eadem asperitate, qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha, quod Jugurthæ Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus, uno per angusto aditu relicto: nam omnis natura, velut opere atque consulto, præceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte, quam consilio, medius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis, magna vis frumenti et fons aquæ; aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus importunus: iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrumque præcissum. Vineæ cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur: nam cum eæ paullum processerant, igni aut lapidibus corrumpebantur; milites neque pro opere consistere, propter iniquitatem loci, neque intra vineas sine periculo administrare: optimus quisque cadere aut sauciari; ceteris metus augeri.

XCIII. At Marius, multis diebus et laboribus consumptis, anxius trahere cum animo, omittaretne inceptum quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua sæpe prospere usus fuerat. Quæ cum multos dies, noctes, æstuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod aversum prælianibus erat, animum advertit inter saxa repentes cochleas: quarum cum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legendi paullatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi, postquam solitudinem intellexit, more humani ingenii, cupidus difficilia faciendi animum invadit. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paullulum modo prona, dein flexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert: cuius ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nitus Ligus, castelli planitiem perscribit: quod cuncti Numidæ intenti prælianibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quæ mox usui fore ducebant, eadem regreditur non temere, uti escenderat, sed tentans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet, hortatur, ab ea parte, qui ipse escenderat, castellum tentet: pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa ejus cognitum, ex præsentibus misit: quorum uti cuiusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nunciavere. Consulis animus tamen paullum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicum et cornicinum, numero quinque quam velocissimos de legit, et cum his, præsidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones: omnes Liguri parere jubet, et ei negotio proximum diem constituit.

**XCIV.** Sed, ubi ex præcepto tempus visum, paratis compotisque omnibus, ad locum pergit. Ceterum illi qui centuriis præerant, prædocti ab duce, arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret: super terga gladii et scuta: verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia simul, et offensa quo levius streperent. Igitur prægrediens Ligus saxa, et si quæ vetustate radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus allevati facilius escenderent: interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu: ubi paullo asperior adscensus, singulos præ se inermes mittere; deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi; quæ dubia nisu videbantur, potissimum tentare, ac sæpius eadem adscendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens, ceteris audaciam addere. Igitur, diu multumque fatigati, tandem in castellum pervenient, desertum ab ea parte; quod omnes, sicuti aliis diebus, adversum hostes aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis, quæ Ligus egerat cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos prælio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites, et ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine acta succedere, et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidæ, sæpe antea vineis Romanorum subversis, item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies noctesque agitare; maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus nostris Jugurthæ servitium minari: secundis rebus feroce esse. Interim omnibus Romanis hostibusque prælio intentis, magna utrumque vi, pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere: ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere; deinde, uti quisque muro proximus erat; postremo cuncti, armati inermesque. Quod ubi accedit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere, ac plerosque tantummodo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriæ, certantes murum petere: neque quemquam omnium præda morari. Sic forte correcta Marii temeritas, gloriæ ex culpa invenit.

**XCV.** Ceterum, dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quæstor cum magno equitatu in castra venit; quos uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret, Romæ relicitus erat. Sed, quoniam tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est, de natura cultique ejus paucis dicere: neque enim alio loco de Sullæ rebus dicturi sumus; et L. Sisenna, optime et diligentissime omnium qui eas res dixere persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla, gentis patriciæ, familia prope jam extincta majorum ignavia, litteris Græcis atque Latinis juxta atque doctissime eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriæ

cupidior : otio luxurioso ; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli : facundus, callidus, et amicitia facilis ; ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis ; multarum rerum, ac maxime pecuniae largitor. Atque felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriaram numquam super industriam fortuna fuit ; multique dubitavere, fortior, an felicior esset : nam, postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat magis, an pigeat disserere.

XCVI. Igitur Sulla, ut supra dictum, postquam in Africam atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc, milites benigne adpellare ; multis roganibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere : sed ea properantius, quam æs mutuum, reddere ; ipse ab nullo repetere ; magis id laborare, ut illi quam plurimi deberent ; joca atque seria cum humillimis agere : in operibus, in agmine atque ad vigilias multus adesse : neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consulis, aut cujusquam, boni famam laedere : tantummodo neque consilio neque manu priorem alium pati ; plerosque antevenire. Quis rebus, brevi, Mario militibusque carissimus factus.

XCVII. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliquos locos munitos et sibi utiles simul, et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuncios mittit, " quam primum in Numidiā copias adduceret : praelii faciendi tempus adesse." Quem ubi cunctari accepit, dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere ; rursus, uti antea, proximos donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiæ partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret. Eo præmio illectus Bocchus, cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marium jam in hiberna proficiscentem, vix decima parte die reliqua, invadunt : rati noctem, quæ jam aderat, victis sibi munimento fore, et, si vicissent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant ; contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficultorem. Igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant ; et, priusquam exercitus aut instrui, aut sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum, aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gætuli, non acie, neque ullo more praelii, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors congregaverat, in nostros concurrunt ; qui omnes trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientes alios ab hostibus defensabant : pars equos escendere, obviam ire hostibus : pugna latrocino magis, quam

prælio similis fieri: sine signis, sine ordinibus equites pedites permixti, cædere alios, alios obtruncare, multos, contra adversos acerrime pugnantes, ab tergo circumvenire: neque virtus, neque arma satis tegere, quod hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi: denique Romani veteres, [novique,] et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus, aut casus conjunxerat, orbes facere; atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

XCVIII. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio territus Marius, aut magis, quam antea, demisso animo fuit: sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis magis, quam familiarissimis, paraverat, vagari passim: ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi confertissimi obstiterant, invadere: manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare, conturbatis omnibus, non poterat. Jamque dies consumptus erat cum tamen barbari nihil remittere, atque, uti reges præceperant, noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, colles duos propinquos inter se occupat: quorum in uno, castris parum amplio, fons aquæ magnus erat; alter usui opportunus, quia, magna parte editus et præceps, paucō munimento egebatur. Ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet. Ipse paullatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit; dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita reges, loci difficultate coacti, prælio deterrentur; neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato, effusi consedere. Dein crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari suo more lætari, exsultare, strepere vocibus: ipsi duces feroce, quia non fugerent, pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis facilia visu, magnoque hortamento erant.

XCIX. Plurimum vero Marius imperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maximum silentium haberi jubet: ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere: deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus, et paullo ante somno captis, de improviso vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines, simul omnes signa canere, milites clamorem tollere, atque portis erumpere. Mauri atque Gætuli ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere aut providere quidquam poterant: ita cunctos strepitum, clamorem, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore, formido, quasi vecordia, ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique: arma et signa militaria pleraque

capta : pluresque eo prælio, quam omnibus superioribus interemti : nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

C. Dein Marius, uti cœperat, in hiberna proficiscitur ; quæ, propter commeatum, in oppidis maritimis agere decreverat : neque tamen secors victoria aut insolens factus ; sed pariter ac in conspectu hostium, quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextimos ; in sinistra A. Manlius, cum funditoribus et sagittariis, præterea cohortes Ligurum, curabat : primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugæ, minime cari, et regionum scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant : simul consul, quasi nullo imposito, omnia providere ; apud omnes adesse ; laudare, increpare mereentes. Ipse armatus intentusque, item milites cogebat : neque secus, atque iter facere, castra munire ; excubitum in portas cohortes ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere : præterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futurum, quæ imperavisset, quam uti militibus exæquatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius, illo et aliis temporibus belli, pudore magis, quam malo, exercitum coërcebat ; quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant ; pars quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam, et alia, quæ ceteri miseras vocant, voluptati habuisset. Nisi tamen respublica, pariter ac sævissimo imperio, bene atque decore gesta.

CI. Igitur quarto denique die, haud longe ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt ; qua re hostes adesse intelligitur. Sed quia diversi redeuntes, alius ab alia parte, atque omnes idem significabant ; consul incertus, quoniam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, adversum omnia paratus, ibidem opperitur. Ita Jugurham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatuor partes distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus utique aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum hostes adtigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatim et quam maxime confertis equis, ipse aliquie Mauros invadunt : ceteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, et, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites præliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux, filius ejus, adduxerat, neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati, adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos agebat : quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis erat. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ad pedites convertit : ibi Latine (nam apud Numantium loqui didicerat) exclamat : “nostros frustra pugnare ; paulo ante Marium sua manu interfectum :” simul gladium sanguine

oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna, satis impigre occiso pedite nostro, cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei, quam fide nuncii terrentur: simulque barbari animos tollere, et in percuslos acrius incedere. Jamque paullum ab fuga aberant, cum Sulla, profligatis, quos adversum ierat, Mauris ab latere incurrit. Bocchus statim avertitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos, et prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextra, sinistra, omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius, fugatis equitibus, occurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile campis patentibus: sequi, fugere; occidi, capi; equi, viri adficti: ac multi, vulneribus acceptis, neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; niti modo, ac statim concidere: postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus; et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

CII. Postea loci consul, haud dubie jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo post diem quintum, quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant, legati a Bocco veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, "duo quam fidissimos ad eum mitteret: velle de se, et de populi Romani commodo cum iis disserere." Ille statim L. Sullam et a Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit verba apud regem facere; ingenium aut aversum uti flecterent, aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiæ, non ætati a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujuscemodi locutus. "Rex Bocche, magna nobis lætitia, cum te tales virum di monuere, uti aliquando pacem, quam bellum, malles; neu te optimum cum pessimo omnium Jugurtha miscendo commaculares; simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem et illum sceleratissimum persecui. Ad hoc, populo Romano jam a principio visum, amicos, quam servos querere: tutius rati volentibus, quam coactis imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia; primum, quod procul absumus, in quo offendæ minimum, gratia par, ac si prope adessemus; dein, quod parentes abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis, neque cuiquam omnium satis. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisse! profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala percessus es. Sed, quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit, cui scilicet placuisse te et vim et gratiam nostram experiri; nunc, quando per illam licet, festina, atque, ut cœpisti, perge. Multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata officiis superes. Postremo hoc

in pectus tuum demitte, numquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum: nam bello quid valeat, tute scis." Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne: simul pauca pro delicto verba facit: "se non hostili animo, sed regnum tutatum arma cepisse: nam Numidiæ partem, unde vi Jugurtham expulerit, jure belli suam factam, eam vastari ab Mario pati nequivisse; præterea missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia. Ceterum vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum." Dein copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullæ et Manlii, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruperat.

CIII. Marius interea, exercitu in hibernis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola, obsecsum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnes præsidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando, quæ sibi duobus præliis venerant, seu admonitus ab amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita, et ingenia validissima erant. Eos ad Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romanum legatos ire jubet: agendarum rerum, et quocunque modo belli componendi licentiam permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur: deinde itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatiique, pavidi, sine decore ad Sullam perfugiunt, quem consul, in expeditionem proficiscens, pro prætore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, ut meriti erant, sed ad accurate ac liberaliter habuit; qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiae falsam, et Sullam, ob munificentiam in sese, amicum rati. Nam etiam tum largitio multis ignara: munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens: dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur quæstori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt: simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit: copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui et alia, quæ aut utilia, aut benevolentiae credebant, oratione extollunt: dein Sulla omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies **XL**. ibidem oppriuntur.

CIV. Marius postquam, ibi infecto, quo intenderat, negotio, Cirtam redit, de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque et Sullam venire jubet, item L. Bellienum prætorem ab Utica, præterea omnes undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab consule: interea induciæ postulabantur. Ea Sullæ et plerisque placuere: pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quæ fluxæ et mobiles semper in adversa mutantur. Ceterum

Mauri, impetratis omnibus rebus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rufo, qui quæstor stipendium in Africam portaverat: duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus cum cetera, tum maxime benignitatem et studium Sullæ lubens accepit. Romæ legatis ejus, postquam errasse regem et Jugurthæ scelere lapsum deprecati sunt, amicitiam et fœdus potentibus hoc modo respondet. "Senatus et populus Romanus beneficij et injuriæ memor esse solet: ceterum Boccho, quoniam pœnitet, delicti gratiam facit: fœdus et amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit."

CV. Quis rebus cognitis, Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret; cuius arbitratu de communibus negotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum præsidio equitum atque peditum, item funditorum Balearium: præterea sagittarii et cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi causa: neque his secus, atque aliis armis, adversum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed itinere, quinto denique die, Volux, filius Bocchi, repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit: qui temere et effuse euntes, Sullæ aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero, et hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur sese quisque expedire, arma atque tela tentare, intendere: timor aliquantus; sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, et adversum eos, quos sœpe vicebant. Interim equites, exploratum præmissi, rem, uti erat, quietam nunciant.

CVI. Volux adveniens quæstorem adpellat: "se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul, et præsidio missum." Deinde eum et proximum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post, ubi castra locata, et diei vesper erat, repente Maurus incerto vultu ad Sullam adcurrit; "sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse;" siinul, uti noctu clam secum profugeret, rogat atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci negat "se toties fusum Numidam pertimescere: virtuti suorum satis credere: etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius, quam proditis, quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertæ ac forsitan post paullo morbo interituræ vitæ parceret." Ceterum ab eodem monitus, uti noctu proficiserentur, consilium adprobat: ac statim milites cœnatos esse, in castris ignes quam creberrimos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus, Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, cum equites Mauri nunciant, "Jugurtham circiter duum millium intervallo ante consedisse." Quod postquam auditum, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit: credere, proditos a Voluce, et insidiis circumventos. Ac fuere,

qui dicerent, manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

CVII. At Sulla, quamquam eadem aestimabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet: suos hortatur, “uti fortem animum gererent: saepe antea paucis strenuis adversum multitudinem bene pugnatum: quanto sibi in prælio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore: nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maximo metu nudum et cæcum corpus ad hostes vertere.” Deinde Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, maximum Jovem obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae Bocchi testis adesset, castris abire jubet. Ille lacrimans orare, “ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factum, magis calliditate Jugurthæ, cui speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. Ceterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent, illum nihil palam ausurum, cum ipse filius testis adesset: quare optimum factum videri, per media ejus castra palam transire: sese, vel præmissis, vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sulla iturum.” Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata, ac statim profecti: quia de improviso acciderant, dubio atque hæsitante Jugurtha, incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum.

CVIII. Ibi cum Bocco Numida quidam, Aspar nomine, multum et familiariter agebat: præmissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator, et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia: præterea Dabar, Massugradæ filius, ex gente Masinissæ, ceterum materno genere impar; pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat; Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus acceptusque, quem Bocchus, fidum multis antea tempestatibus expertus, illico ad Sullam nunciatum mittit, “paratum sese facere, quæ populus Romanus vellet: colloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse deligeret: consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere: neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimesceret, quo res communis licentius gereretur; nam ab insidiis ejus aliter caveri nequivisse.” Sed ego comperior, Bocchum magis Punica fide, quam ob quæ prædicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis adtinuisse, multumque cum animo suo volvere solitus, Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam traderet: lubidinem adversum nos, metum pro nobis susuisse.

CIX. Igitur Sulla respondit: “pauca se coram Aspare locuturum; cetera occulte, aut nullo, aut quam paucissimis præsentibus:” simul edocet, quæ responderentur. Postquam, sicuti voluerat, congressi, dicit, “se missum a consule venisse quæsitum ab eo, pacem an bellum agitaturus foret.” Tum

rex, uti præceptum, post diem decimum redire jubet; ac, nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum: deinde ambo in sua castra digressi. Sed, ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte arcessitur: ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpres adhibentur: præterea Dabar internuncius, sanctus vir et ex sententia ambobus. Ac statim sic rex incipit.

CX. "Numquam ego ratus sum fore, uti rex maximus in hac terra, et omnium, quos novi, opulentissimus, privato homini gratiam deberem. Et hercle, Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis orantibus, aliis ultiro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id imminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego lætor; fuerit mihi [pretium] eguisse aliquando amicitiae tuæ, qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeo experiri licet: arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo lubet, sume, utere: et, quoad vives, numquam redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me integra erit: denique nihil, me sciente, frustra voles. Nam, ut ego æstimo, regem armis, quam munificentia vinci, minus flagitosum. Ceterum de republica vestra, cujus curator hic missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci, neque factum umquam volui: fines meos adversum armatos armis tutatus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ita placet: gerite, uti vultis, cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare sinam. Præterea, si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis."

CXI. Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice; de pace et de communibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique regi patefecit, "quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam amplius armis valuissent, non in gratiam habituros: faciendum aliquid, quod illorum magis, quam sua, retulisse videretur: id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam Jugurthæ copiam haberet: quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, uti illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, fœdus, Numidiæ partem, quam nunc peteret, ultiro adventuram. Rex primo negitare: "adfinitatem, cognitionem, præterea fœdus intervenisse: ad hoc metuere, ne fluxa fide usus, popularium animos averteret, quis et Jugurtha carus, et Romani invisi erant." Denique sæpius fatigatus lenitur et ex voluntate Sullæ omnia se facturum promittit. Ceterum ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida, defessus bello, avidissimus, quæ utilia visa, constituunt. Ita composito dolo digrediuntur.

CXII. At rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthæ legatum appellat: "sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse conditionibus bellum poni: quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret." Ille lætus in castra Jugurthæ venit. Deinde ab illo

cuncta edoctus, properato itinere, post diem octavum reddit ad Bocchum, et ei nunciat, "Jugurtham cupere omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere; sed Mario parum confidere: sæpe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse. Ceterum si ambobus consultum, et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus, quasi de pace in colloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet: cum talem virum in potestate haberet, fore, uti jussu senatus atque populi Romani fedus fieret: neque hominem nobilem, non sua ignavia, sed ob rempublicam in hostium potestate, relictum iri."

CXIII. Hæc Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit; ceterum dolo, an vere, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiæ voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, sæpe ipsæ sibi adversæ. Postea, tempore et loco constituto, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthæ legatum adpellare, benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter læti, ac spei bonæ pleni. Sed nocte ea, quæ proxima fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus, adhibitis amicis, ac statim, immutata voluntate, remotis, dicitur secum ipse multa agitavisse, vultu corporis pariter, atque animo varius: qua re scilicet, tacente ipso, occulta pectoris patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam arcessiri jubet, et ex ejus sententia Numidæ insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit, et ei nunciatum est, Jugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et quæstore nostro, quasi obvius honoris causa procedit in tumulum, facillimum visu insidianibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis, inermis, ut dictum, accedit; ac statim, signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obtruncati: Jugurtha Sullæ vincitus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus.

CXIV. Per idem tempus adversum Gallos ab ducibus nostris, Q. Cæpione et M. Manlio, male pugnatum; quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. Illaque et, inde ad nostram memoriam, Romani sic habuere; alia omnia virtuti suæ prona esse; cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certare. Sed, postquam bellum in Numidia confectum, et Jugurtham vincatum adduci Romam nunciatum est, Marius consul absens factus, et ei deereta provincia Gallia: isque Kalendis Januariis magna gloria consul triumphavit. Ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitæ.

## NOTES ON THE CATILINA.

*I. Sese.*—This form is almost invariably employed by Sallust for *se*. Nor is *se* redundant, but the older and fuller form of expression = ‘ut ipsi praestent.’ It is by no means unusual in other Latin writers, e.g. Terence, Eunuch. Prolog., ‘Qui placere se studeat bonis quam plurimis;’ Cicero, De Offic. ii. 20, ‘Gratum se videri studet.’ Terence uses it with ‘volo,’ ‘opto,’ ‘decerno;’ Livy with ‘malo.’

*Ne silentio transeant.*—‘Not to let their lives slip away in inactivity.’ For a similar meaning of ‘silentium,’ compare Tacitus, Agricola, c. 3, ‘Juvenes ad senectutem, scnes prope ad ipsos exactæ ætatis terminos per silentium venimus;’ ib. 39, ‘Frustra studia fori, et civilium artium decus in silentium acta.’ Compare also Livy, xxxviii. 38, and Silius Italicus, iii. 145 :—

‘Quantum etenim distant a morte silentia vitæ.’

*Prona.*—This metaphor occurs in Ovid, Metamorph. i. 84 :—

‘Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram,  
Os homini sublime dedit,’ etc.;

and in Juvenal, Satir. xv. 146 :—

‘Sensum a coelesti demissum traximus arce,  
Cujus egent prona, et terram spectantia.’

Compare Persius, Satir. ii. 61 :—

‘O curvae in terras animæ et coelestium inanes.’

*Ventri obedientia*—Obeying the lower appetites.

*In animo et corpore.*—Comp. Jugurth. c. 2, ‘Genus hominum compositum ex anima et corpore,’ where ‘anima’ is used for ‘animo:’ anima, being the vital principle, ‘animus,’ the mind, as endowed with the powers of reasoning and willing. Cicero says, De Fin. Bon. et Mal. v. 12, § 34, ‘Hominem e corpore animoque constare, cum primæ sint animæ partes, secundæ corporis.’ Nonius, ap. Marcell. p. 426: ‘Animus est quo sapimus, anima qua vivimus.’ Comp. Catilin. 52; Jugurth. 14, 31, etc.

*Animi imperio, corporis servitio.*—Seneca, Epist. 114, makes use of a comparison nearly, though not quite, similar: ‘Animus noster modo rex est, modo tyrannus.’ We are the subjects of the soul, but the slaves of the body. The lawful government of the one we have in common with the gods, the enthralment of the other in common with the brute creation.

*Vita ipsa, qua fruimur.*—Comp. Cicero, Philipp. xiv. 12: ‘Brevis a natura nobis vita data est: at memoria bene redditæ vitæ sempiterna.’

*Fluxa* = fluida.—For the glory that waits on riches and beauty is fleeting and frail; but virtue is bright, as it is everlasting. Comp. Jugurth. c. 104: ‘Ignari humanarum rerum, quæ fluxæ et mobiles semper in adversa

mutant.' Tacitus, Hist. i. 21: 'Dum Galbae fluxa auctoritas, Pisonis nondum coaluisset.' 'Fluxu' (Catilin. c. 14) is employed in the sense of 'supple,' 'pliant,'—'animi molles et ætate fluxi';—and in Tacitus, Annals, vi. 38, to express the indecision of age, 'fluxam senio mentem.'

*Vi-ne corporis an virtute animi.*—We may draw the following general distinctions between *vis*, *vires*, and *virtus*. '*Vis*' is used in conjunction with 'corpus' and 'animus'; '*vires*' with 'corpus' only; '*virtus*' with 'animus' only. Although Cicero indeed, De Fin. Bon. et Mal. v. 13, combines '*virtus*' with 'corpus': 'Ita fiet ut animi virtus, corporis virtuti anteponatur'; where, however, '*virtus*' is used generally for 'excellence.' In De Inventione, ii. 53, Cicero defines '*virtus*' to be 'animi habitus.'

*Magis procederet.*—'Were the more furthered by.'

*Ubi consulueris.*—Nepos, Thrasybul. c. 1: 'In prælii concursu abit res a consilio ad vires vimque pugnantium'; from 'the theoretic to the practic,' as an Elizabethan writer would have phrased it. '*Vires*', sc. 'corporis'; '*vim*', sc. 'animi.'

*Indigens . . . eget.*—'Indigens' = 'deficient,' absolutely. For 'eget' it has been proposed, in order to avoid tautology, to read 'veget' ('vegeo,' to be strong = 'vigeo'), a word used by Ennius (ap. Fest. p. 153), and of which the participle 'vegetus' was in common use with good authors. 'Vegeo' occurs in Lucretius, Rer. Nat. v. 1297,—

'Et moderarier hunc [equum] frenis, dextraque vegere,'

where 'vegere' means to curb strongly. Varro, ap. Non. p. 183, employs both 'veget' and 'viget': 'Nec natus est: nec morietur: viget, veget ut-pote plurimum.' Sallust, as a seeker of archaisms, may probably have used 'veget.'

II. *In initio reges.*—Comp. Tacitus, Annal. i. c. 1: 'Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere'; Cicero, De Legib. iii. 2: 'Omnes antiquæ gentes regibus quondam paruerunt'; and Polybius, bk. vi., shows at some length that monarchy is the form of government most consonant with nature.—*Nomen imperii id*, sc. 'regium,' understood from the preceding 'reges'; as in c. 5, infra: 'Civitatis mores quos,' i.e. 'cives,' implied in 'civitatis.'

*Diversi.*—'Taking opposite courses,' Merivale, *in loc.* 'Diversus' does not mean simply 'different,' but 'exactly opposite.' Comp. c. 5, infra: 'Pessima ac diversa inter se mala'; c. 53, 'Ingenti virtute, diversi moribus . . . M. Cato et C. Cæsar,' 'both of extraordinary worth, but quite opposite in character.'

*Etiam tum.*—'Even after the establishment of kingly power.' The emphasis lies in the universal hatred of monarchy entertained by the Romans in all ages. The contemporaries of Sallust saw the feeble or contemptible despots who governed Egypt, Bithynia, Cappadocia, etc., and despised them: their ancestors had been oppressed by the Tarquins, and hated 'reges.' Yet bad, Sallust implies, as times then were, 'etiam tum,' while nations were governed by kings, the world was better than in our days, for avarice and ambition ('cupiditas') were unknown, 'sua cuique satis placebant.'

*Cyrus . . . Lacedæmonii . . . Athenienses.*—The historian, as Gerlach observes, has here an eye to Herodotus, whose narrative of the transactions between Asia and Europe, bk. i. proem, ἔργα μέγαλα τε καὶ θωρηκτά, τὰ μὲν Ἑλληστι, τὰ δὲ Βαρβαροῖσιν ἀποδεχθέντα, turns upon these three pivots, viz. (1) the impulse which Cyrus imparted to Western Asia in the

direction of Europe; gradual predominance of Sparta over the other members of the Dorian race,—Corinth, Argos, Messene; (3) the reaction of Europe upon Asia, by Lacedæmon and Athens combined, and the equipoise of the Ionian race of Attica with the Dorian tribes of Peloponnesus. Sallust, as we shall have occasion to remark frequently, was deeply imbued with Greek historical literature.

*Pericolo atque negotiis.*—‘At the expense of dangers and difficulties.’

*Ingenium.*—Thucydides, i. 144, remarks that the Persians were driven out of Greece γνώμῃ τε πλείστη η τύχη καὶ τόλμη μειζόνη η δυνάμει.

*Aequalius.*—Some editors propose to read ‘æqualius,’ alleging Tacitus, Annals xv. 21, ‘Æqualius atque constantius provinciae regentur.’ Ernesti, ad Tac. Ann. vi. 31, says: ‘Æquabilis interdum est æqualis, inde justus et æquus, hinc civilis, lenis, mitis.’

*Nam imperium ... partum est.*—Ovid (Art. Am. ii. 13) assigns the reason:—

‘Non minor est virtus, quam querere, parta tueri:  
Casus inest illic, hic erit artis opus.’

And comp. Claudian, De Laud. Stilichon. ii. 326:

‘Plus est servasse repertum  
Quam quæsisse novum.’

*Pro labore desidia ... superbia.*—*Labor*, ‘active exertion,’ with special reference to war; *continentia*, ‘self-restraint,’ is opposed to *lubido*, ‘selfishness;’ *aquitate*, ‘respect for others’ rights,’ to *superbia*, ‘lawless force.’

*Quæ homines arant ... ædificant.*—This, a very peculiar construction, is equivalent, says Mr. Merivale (*ad loc.*), to ‘omnia quæ homines faciunt, arando, navigando, ædificando.’ ‘Virtuti’ = ‘manly exertion,’ sc. ‘animi.’

*Peregrinantes.*—He who merely travels through a country takes but little interest, and no part, in its affairs.

*Juxta* = ‘æque,’ infra, c. 61: ‘Ita cuncti suæ hostiumque vitæ juxta percerant.’ This usage is frequent in Tacitus, e.g. Annals i. 6, ‘Juxta periculo, ficta seu vera promeret;’ ib. 48, ‘Innocentes ac noxios juxta cadere,’ ii. 56, ‘Proceres plebemque juxta devinxerat.’ In Catilin. c. 51, ‘juxta’ is followed by ‘et’: ‘Juxta bonos et malos ... interficeré.’

*Quoniam de utraque siletur.*—‘Silere’ is used of things inanimate, e.g. of trees; ‘tacere’ of things with life, e.g. to hold one’s tongue. ‘Siletur’ should be referred to ‘silentium’ in c. 1, supra. The entire passage, commencing with ‘Sed multi mortales’ and concluding with ‘de utraque siletur,’ bears some resemblance to the following stanza of Dante in the Divina Commedia, cant. iii.

‘Ed egli a me: questo misero modo  
Tengon l’ anime triste di coloro  
Che visser senza infamia, e senza lodo.

Fama di loro il mondo esser non lassa:  
Misericordia, e Giustizia gli sdegna.  
Non ragioniam di loro, ma guarda, e passa.’

*Verum enimvero is demum.*—See Catilin. c. 20, infra, and comp. Terence (Adelph. act ii. sc. 3), ‘Verum enimvero id demum juvat.’ ‘Verum enimvero’ occurs frequently in Livy, but rarely in Cicero. For ‘is demum’

see c. 20, of this narrative, ‘ea demum,’ and Cicero (*Epist. ad Attic. viii. 8*), ‘Id demum, aut potius id solum esse miserum quod turpe est.’ Construe, ‘he above all men.’

*Aliquo negotio intentus.*—‘Occupied with,’ kept on the stretch by some business, not ‘intent upon,’ which would require the dative. So ‘scientia confisus,’ satisfied with the consciousness of knowledge; ‘pede nixus,’ using the foot as a prop or instrument of support.

*In magna copia rerum.*—Sc. ‘agendarum,’ in the great variety of things to be done, of possible causes of action.—*Aliud alii.* ‘Alius’ in Sallust, and the best writers generally, is used with one of its own cases, or with an adverb derived from it, to denote what in English would require two separate expressions. We have ‘aliud alio’ already in this chapter.

*III. Bene facere reipublicæ.*—‘To do the State service.’ So in Jugurtha, c. 85, ‘Benefacta mea reipublicæ,’ my services to the State.

*Absurdum.*—‘Not without its merit.’ Comp. Tacitus, Annals xiii. 45, ‘Sermo comis nec absurdum ingenium.’ ‘Absurdus’ is used in the comparative degree by Cicero, Philipp. viii. 41, etc.; in the superlative, Epist. ad Attic. vii. 13. It is perhaps derived from an old word, ‘sardare’ = intelligere. See Festus, *s.v.* ‘sardare.’

*Multi laudantur.*—This is an additional predication. Sallust says, not merely that they were praised, but that those who were praised were many.

*Actorem.*—Here it is better to read ‘actorem’ than ‘auctorem;’ though ‘auctor rerum’ = ‘scriptor rerum’ in Cicero; and comp. Velleius Paternius, ii. 120: ‘Præclari facinoris auctor fuit Caldus Cælius.’ ‘Auctores rerum,’ Tacitus, Annals iii. 3.

*Exæquanda.*—Comp. Livy, vi. 20: ‘Facta dictis æquando,’ etc.

‘Quis funera fando

Explicit aut possit lacrymis æquare labores.

*Plerique...putant.*—Supply ‘reprehendisse’ implied in ‘reprehenderis.’ The whole passage, from ‘primum’ to ‘ducit,’ is an imitation of Thucydides, ii. 35: χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν, ἐν φύσει καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιοῦται. Θετε γὰρ συνειδῶς καὶ εὔνους ἀκροατὴς τάχ' ἄντι τε ἐνδεεστέρως πρὸς ἢ βούλεται τε καὶ ἐπίσταται νομίσεις δηλοῦσθαι, θετε ἀπειρος ἔστιν ἢ καὶ πλεονάζεσθαι, διὰ φθόνον, εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι, μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπαινοι εἰσὶ περὶ ἐπέρωτα λεγόμενοι, ἐσθίσσονται καὶ αὐτὸς ἔκαστος οἴηται ἵκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαι τι ὃν ἤκουοσε. τῷ δὲ ὑπερβαλλόντι αὐτῶν φθονοῦντες ἥδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν.

*Supra ea.*—That is, ‘omnia quæ supra ea sunt quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat.’

*Adolescentulus.*—Sallust is supposed to have been Quaestor, his first public office, when he was about the age of twenty-seven, *i.e.* B.C. 59; and he is known to have been Tribunus Plebis in B.C. 52, the year in which Clodius was slain in a brawl on the Appian Road. In B.C. 50 he was expelled from the Senate (Dion. Cass. xl. 63), after which time we hear no more of him until B.C. 47, when he regained his senatorian rank by becoming Prætor elect. He accompanied Cæsar in his African war in the following year, and was appointed by him governor of Numidia, where he was accused of maladministration, though it does not appear that he was ever brought to trial. The charge of malversation derives some colour from the notoriety of Sallust’s great wealth after his provincial government. The ‘Horti Sallustiani,’ on the Quirinal Hill, were

said to have been purchased with the spoils of Africa. He retired into private life in 45-4, and then devoted himself to learned leisure and literary pursuits. Many, if not all, the charges brought against Sallust's private or public character, rest upon an attack made on him, as a Cæsarian, by Lenæus, a freedman of Pompeius Magnus (Suetonius, *De Illustr. Grammat.* c. 15).—*Studio ad rempublicam latus sum.* ‘I earnestly devoted myself to politics.’

*Abstinentia*.—Opposed, as it is invariably in Sallust, to ‘avaritia;’ and generally ‘abstinentia’ refers to money, ‘continentia’ to all other forbidden pleasures. Comp. Horace, *Od. iv. 9, 37*, ‘animus’—

‘abstinens  
Ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniae.’

*Insolens*.—‘Unaccustomed to,’ as in Terence, *Andria*, act v. sc. iv. 4:—  
‘Quid tu Athenas insolens?’

Tacitus, *Annals vi. 34*, ‘Parthi contumeliarum insolentes;’ id. *Hist. i. 87*, ‘Bellorum insolens.’

*Ab reliquorum malis moribus*.—It is probable that Sallust here alludes to the evil reports he endured or deserved, and insinuates a palliation of them. ‘It was wrong to have been as bad as others, but I was not so bad as most, after all.’—*nihilominus*. I have ventured to alter the punctuation of this passage, on the authority of Mr. Merivale, from Gerlach’s reading to the following: ‘Nihilominus honoris cupido eadem, qua ceteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.’ ‘The pursuit of public honours subjected me to the same abuse and envy as the rest of my competitors;’ where ‘fama’ (whence ‘famosus’) is used in the sense of ‘mala fama.’

*IV. Igitur*.—‘To proceed then.’

*Habendam*.—‘Habere ætatem’ denotes the condition or habit ( $\epsilon\kappa\iota\sigma$ ) of life, and differs from ‘agere ætatem’ as ‘habere gratias’ differs from ‘agere gratias,’ viz. ‘to be grateful,’ and ‘to express one’s gratitude.’

*Non fuit consilium*.—‘It was not my intention.’

*Conterere bonum otium*.—‘To waste away in sloth and idleness a leisure that might be turned to good account.’

*Agrum colendo*.—Sallust here enumerates Agriculture among ‘servilia officia.’ This is rather the opinion of a fine gentleman luxuriating in his handsome house and gardens, than the sentiment of better and nobler Romans; and is directly opposed to the maxim of Cato the elder (*Re Rustic. c. 1*): ‘Et bonum virum cum laudabant [majores nostri] ita laudabant, Bonum agricolam bonumque colonum.’ Marcus Varro, the greatest scholar and archæologist of his age, wrote an elaborate treatise on the science which Sallust affects to hold cheap. Virgil glorified it in the most perfect of didactic poems, his ‘Georgics;’ Horace never loses an opportunity of commanding the utility and honour of the husbandman; and even the city-loving Cicero says, *De Offic. i. 42*, fin., ‘Omnium autem rerum ex quibus aliquid acquiritur nihil est agricultura melius, nihil uberior, nihil dulcior, nihil homine libero dignius.’—*Venando*. The Romans were not in general addicted to field-sports; and it was a subject of reproach from his subjects to a Parthian king, who had been educated in the household of Augustus, that he disdained the active pursuits of his countrymen; ‘diversus a magorum institutis, raro venatu, segni equorum cura’ (Tacitus, *Annals ii. 3*). The Romans were ‘mighty hunters,’ but their ‘chace was man.’ The sentiment of Sallust is that of a Greek sophist. ‘Colendo,’ ‘venando,’ are

ablative governed by ‘intentum.’ See note on c. 2, supra, ‘intentus aliquo negotio.’

*Incepto studioque.*—Several MSS. read ‘incepto studio;’ but Sallust frequently couples together words having but little difference of meaning, e.g. ‘clades atque calamitas;’ ‘modum, modestiam;’ ‘fessi lassique;’ ‘varius, incertus;’ ‘pollens potensque.’

*Mala.*—Comp. the closing paragraph of c. 3, ‘malarum artium . . . ambitione corrupta.’

*Eodem regressus.*—This points to a previous intention of writing history, and possibly indicates some such sentiment in the author, as Gibbon expresses in the ‘Memoir of his Life and Writings’ (p. 154, Milman’s ed.): ‘After his oracle Dr. Johnson, my friend Sir Joshua Reynolds denies all original genius, any natural propensity of the mind to one art or science rather than another. Without engaging in a metaphysical or, rather, verbal dispute, I know, by experience, that from my early youth I aspired to the character of an historian.’

*Carpitum . . . perscribere.*—His intention was to write a complete history of Rome—*perscribere*, but in separate portions—*carpitum*. Comp. Pliny, Epist. vi. 22: ‘Egit carpitum et κατὰ κεφαλαῖα;’ Polybius, i. 13: κεφαλαιῶδως, ἐπὶ κεφαλαῖον, ψάνοντες.

*A spe, metu, partibus.*—This general pretence to impartiality is made by Tacitus at the commencement of his Life of Agricola, ‘Sine gratia et ambitione;’ of his History, ‘Neque amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus est;’ and of his Annals, ‘Sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.’

*Pauca prius explananda . . . faciam.*—A few preliminary difficulties must, however, be smoothed, before I can properly commence my narrative.

V. *Lucius Catilina.*—Sallust describes Catiline’s career previous to the Conspiracy in general terms only, and these principally refer to his personal vices. His public acts, so far we are acquainted with them, are the following. He appears first in history as a zealous partisan of Sulla. During the Proscription he killed with his own hand his brother-in-law, Q. Cæcilius, and seized and tortured M. Marius Gratidianus, Cicero’s kinsman and fellow-townsman, whose head he cut off and paraded it in triumph through Rome (Seneca, De Ira iii. 18). His crimes, however, did not impede his political advancement, since he was elected Praetor in b.c. 68, and obtained Africa for his province, returning to Rome in 66, in order to canvass for the consulship. The rest of his history is related by Sallust.

*Nobili genere.*—Namely, Gens Sergio, whose antiquity was sufficiently illustrious for its introduction into the Æneid among the Alban fathers of Rome. Æneid v. 121:—

‘Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo *Sergia* nomen.’

The first member of the gens who obtained the consulship was L. Sergius Fidenas, in b.c. 437. The Catilina branch of this gens had sunk into obscurity before the civil wars. The Sergio Domus contained the following families:—Catilina, Esquilinus, Fidenas, Orata, Paulus, Plancus, and Silus. Silus is the only cognomen which occurs on coins. One Sergius, Catilina’s armour-bearer, and afterwards a partisan of Publius Clodius, is mentioned by Cicero in his speech Pro Domo Sua, § 33. Catilina himself appears to have been of the *Silus* branch of the Gens Sergio. His *proavus*, M. Silus, distinguished himself in the Second Punic war (Plin. Hist. Nat. vii. 28): his grandson, the father of Catilina, seems to have

been undistinguished by any office, and sunken in his fortunes (see Q. Cicero, *De Petit. Consul.* § 2: 'Natus in patriis egestate').

*Ingenio malo pravoque.*—'Ingenium' = 'quicquid est ingenitum,' and applies to the native qualities of the heart as well as the head.—Crombie's *Gymnasium*, vol. ii. p. 36. We make use of the word *crooked* in the sense of 'pravus.'

*Adolescentia.*—'Early manhood.' The Romans divided human life into four periods of fifteen years each: thus 'pueritia' ended with the fifteenth year; 'adolescentia' with the thirtieth; 'juventus' with the forty-fifth; 'senectus' was the last period of life (see *Florus, proem.* § 4). Consequently 'exercuit juventutem' means, 'he employed his mature years.' See *Classical Journal*, vol. i. p. 473.

*Corpus patiens inediae*, etc.—His antagonist Cicero also expatiates on the extraordinary vigour and hardihood of Catiline's physical nature.—*Catilina* i. 10: 'Ad hujus vitæ studium meditati illi sunt, qui feruntur, labores tui: jacere humi... vigilare... Habes, ubi ostentes, illam præclararam tuam patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiæ rerum omnium.' And again, in his defence of Cælius: comp. c. 6: 'Illa vero in illo homine (sc. Catilina) mirabilia fuerunt... versare suam naturam, et regere ad tempus, atque huc et illuc torquere et flectere: cum tristibus severe, cum remissis jucunde, cum senibus graviter, cum juventute comiter, cum facinorosis audacter, cum libidinosis luxuriose vivere. Hac ille tam varia multiplique natura, cum omnes omnibus ex terris homines improbos audacesque collegerat: tunc etiam multos fortis viros et bonos specie quadam virtutis assimulatae tenebat.'

*Simulator ac dissimulator.*—Comp. c. 31, infra, 'Ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia.' The difference between 'simulare' and 'dissimulare' is that 'simulando' you claim a character not of your own, and so at the same time conceal your own; 'dissimulando' you conceal your own character and so claim one not your own.

‘Quod non es simulas, dissimulasque quod es.’

Tacitus has borrowed some of Sallust's colours in tracing the portrait of Sejanus, *Annals* iv. 1: 'Corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax; sui obtegens, in alios criminator: palam compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido, ejusque causa modo largitio et luxus, saepius industria ac vigilantia,' etc.

*Hunc post dominationem.*—'No man, since Sulla's usurpation, had been so ambitious of power,' Merivale; and comp. *Jugurtha*. c. 5, 'Post magnitudinem attriverat.'

*Quidquam pensi.*—'Pensum' is that which is weighed in the scales. 'Nihil pensi,' that which has no weight and is therefore of no worth: hence, metaphorically, to be of no value, deserving neither of care nor consideration. 'Nihil pensi' is rather a favourite phrase with Sallust, comp. infra, cc. 12, 23, 62; *Jugurtha*, c. 41; Tacitus, *Annals* xiii. 15; 'Neque fas neque fidem pensi habere.' 'Pensi' is combined, unusually, with the verb 'ducere' by Valerius Maximus, ii. 9, § 3: 'Nec pensi duxerat iisdem imaginibus ascribi.'

*Agitabatur.*—Sallust, like Tacitus, was fond of the frequentative form in verbs, e.g.: 'advento' for 'advenio'; 'agito' for 'ago'; 'dictito' for 'dico'; 'imperito' for 'impero'; 'missito' for 'mitto'; 'negito' for 'nego'; 'sustento' for 'sustineo'; 'tutor' for 'tueor.' The frequentative may be regarded as the strong form of the verb, and languages, as they

grow older, are prone to discard their strong forms of words; hence writers who, like Sallust, affect archaisms, recur to the discarded forms. Horace, in passages where he wishes to convey a notion of pomp and pride, employs the older and stronger form, e.g. Satir. I. vi. 4:—

Olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarunt,

a line nearly adopted from Lucretius, Rer. Nat. iii. 1041.

*Diversa.*—See note on c. 2, supra.

*Supra repetere.*—So Jugurtha. c. 5, ‘Pauca supra repetam.’ The metaphor, i.e. of going back a bit, retracing one’s steps, is taken from the act of going higher up a river, towards its fountain-head.

VI. *Sicuti ego accepi.*—He begins above history with tradition.

*Habuere.*—Comp. Jugurtha, c. 18, ‘Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyes;’ and Tacitus, Annals i. proem, ‘Urbem Romam principio reges habuere.’ For this use of ‘habeo’ for ‘habito’ Mr. Keightley cites Plautus, Aulul. proem, 5, ‘Mererix quae hic habet.’ i.e. ‘habitat;’ id. Truculent. act i. sc. i. 58, ‘Ubi nunc adolescens habet.’ We say, in similar manner, ‘This is the house where he keeps.’

*Trojani.*—For the purely fabulous nature of the legends which connected Troy and Æneas with Alba, Rome, Latinus, and Romulus, consult Niebuhr’s Roman Hist. E. T. vol. i. p. 176, foll. 2nd ed. 1831. Such retrospects of their origin were highly popular at Rome in the Augustan age, and prompted some of the best verses of Propertius (especially Eleg. v. 1) and Ovid, besides forming the subject of Rome’s great epic poem. The Egyptians irritated the Greeks by telling them that in philosophy, natural or moral, they were mere children (see Plato, Timæus); the Greeks irritated the Romans by assuring them that their ancestors were a gang of robbers and herdsmen (Juvenal, Satir. viii. fin.):—

‘Majorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum,  
Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo,’

and it soothed the pride of Augustus and his subjects to be continually reminded that they sprang from Zeus and Aphrodite, through Tros and Assaracus.

*Aborigines.*—This was a name given by the Romans to the primitive inhabitants of Italy. According to Cato (ap. Dionys. Halicarn. ii. 49) they dwelt about Mount Velino and the lake of Celano, as far as Carseoli and Reate, and were driven from thence by the Sabines, coming from Aquila. Varro (ap. Dionys. i. 14) gave a list of the towns of the Aborigines in that district. Their capital was Lista. Unable to expel the Sabines, they came lower down the Anio, and drove the Sicilians out of Tibur, Antemnae, Ficulea, Tellena, etc. The origin of the name is uncertain; it is commonly derived from ‘ab origo’ and said to mean ‘ancestors;’ but Aurelius Victor and Festus deduce it from ἀπό and ὥρη, ‘the comers-down from the highlands.’ It is sometimes, as by Festus, s.v., written Aberrigines, ‘ab erro,’ ‘a conflux of wandering tribes.’ It corresponds nearly with the ἀπτόχθονες. With respect to the Aborigines living, as both Sallust and Virgil describe them, ‘sine legibus, sine imperio,’ Niebuhr (Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 83) observes that ‘this is probably nothing but an ancient speculative view of the manner in which mankind advanced to civilization out of a state of animal rudeness... Not a single instance, however, can be produced of a really savage people which has become civilized of its own accord; and where civilization has been

forced upon such a people from without, the physical decay of the race has ensued.' 'The social state,' as Aristotle remarks (*Polit.* i. 1), 'is prior to its individual members, the whole prior to the part.'

*Sine imperio*, 'masterless men,' as our old Acts of Parliament term rogues and vagabonds.

*Dispari genere, dissimili lingua*.—True, if Rome were founded by Etruscans and Sabellians,—false, if it were only a colony of Latins.

*Una mœnia*.—'Unus' is never used in the plural number, except with nouns which have no singular, such as 'castra,' 'litteræ,' 'mœnia,' 'nuptiæ,' 'scalæ,' etc. We find it indeed with 'molæ,' but 'molæ' is a single mill formed of two stones ('mola'). 'Mola' however is used for a 'mill' in the singular.

*Invidia ex opulentia*.—Comp. Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vii. 5, § 77 :—*ὅταν πλεῖστα τις ἔχῃ, τότε πλεῖστοι καὶ φθονοῦσι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ πολέμοι γίγνονται*. Comp. also Livy's account of the origin of the war with Fidenæ and the Cœrites under Mezentius (*Hist.* i. 3).

*Perculti*.—There is another reading 'percussi,' but 'perculti' is preferable for the reasons contained in the following note of Bentley's (*ad Horat. Epop. xi. 3*), where he is distinguishing between *percellere* and *percutere*. 'Utrumque de corpore proprio, de animo μεταφορικῶς dicitur. *Percellere* tamen magis quid quam *percutere* significat; tanta scilicet vi *percutere*, ut evertas et solo prosternas. Ergo in re graviore *percensus* aptius vocabulum est: *percussum* terrore, metu, formidine, clade, ruina, damno, discordiis, passim in auctoribus occurunt.'

*Hi vel ætate vel curæ . . . Patres*.—That is, 'Senatus a senibus.' The institution was common to Italy generally, south of the Anio, and indeed, as Niebuhr remarks (*Rom. Hist.* vol. i. p. 338), 'in the cities of all the civilized nations around the Mediterranean, a Senate was no less essential and indispensable than a popular assembly. It was a select body of the elder citizens.' 'Such a council,' says Aristotle (*Polit.* iv. 15), 'there always is, whether the constitution be aristocratical or democratical.'

*Conservandæ libertatis*.—Comp. Livy, iii. 39: 'Quod unum exequandæ sit libertatis,' xxvii. 9, etc. 'In all these cases,' says Mr. Merivale (*ad loc.*), 'the subject of the sentence conduced to, or has for its object, that which is put in the genitive with the future participle, and the genitive attributes to it a certain quality, function, or tendency. But, where the genitive is connected with another verb than the verb substantive, 'causa' or 'consilio' must be supplied, like the Greek ἐνέκα or χάριν. Thus Sallust, *Fr. Hist.* i. 19, 'Exercitum opprimendæ libertatis habet'; Livy, viii. 6, 'Placuit averruncandæ deum iræ victimas cædi.' That these are not genitives of quality, e.g. 'victims fit for averting divine wrath,' appears from such passages as Tacitus, *Annals* ii. 59: 'Germanicus Ægyptum proficiscitur cognoscendæ antiquitatis'; id. iii. 27: 'Multæ populus parcuit tuendæ libertatis et firmandæ concordiæ.' Scheller however (*Latin Grammar*, vol. i. p. 400. E. T.) prefers the supplement of 'negotium' to that of 'causa' or 'consilio' in such constructions, and concludes his survey of this and similar passages with an example from Cæsar (*B. Gallic.* iv. 2), where 'negotium' or -a will, and 'causa' or 'consilio' will not apply. 'Hæc (jumenta) quotidiana exercitatione, summi ut sint laboris efficiunt.'

*Convertit*.—See c. 52, *infra*, 'In miseriam vertet,' 'turned itself.'

*Minime . . . insolescere*.—'To become arrogant;' 'rebus insolitis,' in unusual circumstances: i.e. 'superbia et dominatio.' Florus (i. 9) may have

had this passage in his memory: ‘Ex perpetuo annum (imperium) placuit; ex singuli duplex: ne potestas solitudine vel mora corrumperetur.’

VII. *Tempestate*.—‘*Tempestas*’ differs from ‘*tempus*’ as *καιρός* from *χρόνος*, the former denoting a more definite and particular period or moment of time than the latter. Thus ‘*tempestas*’ answers to ‘epoch,’ ‘*tempus*’ to ‘era.’ Hippocrates (*De Aëre, Aquis, et Locis*) defines them thus: *χρόνος ἐστίν ἐν φειδών τοις καιρός, καὶ καιρός ἐν φειδών τοις χρόνος οὐ πολύς.*

*Incredibile memoratu*.—This chapter is really borrowed from Herodotus (v. 78): ‘Αθηναῖοι μὲν νυν ἡμέντο· δῆλοι δέ οὐ κατ’ ἔν μοῦνον, ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ ἡ ἴσηγορίη ὡς ἔστι χρῆμα σπουδῶν, εἰ καὶ Αθηναῖοι τυραννεύμενοι μὲν, οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιουσεύντων ἔσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους, απαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων, μακρῷ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο· δῆλοι δὲ ταῦτα, διτι κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐθελοκάκεον, ὡς δεσπότη ἐργαζόμενοι, ἐλευθερωθέντων δέ, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐωτῷ προθυμέστε κατεργάζεσθαι. As a statement of facts, however, the chapter is an entire misrepresentation of the case, for the Roman monarchy was as undoubtedly vigorous and opulent, as the republic at first was feeble and necessitous. By the wars which followed the expulsion of the Tarquins, her lands on the right bank of the Tiber were reft away; her tribes shrank at once from thirty-one to twenty-one; we hear no more, for upwards of a century, of treaties with foreign Powers like the treaty between Carthage and regal Rome; her power over the Latin Confederation is at an end, and she has enough on her hands in keeping at bay the *Aequians* and *Volsicians*. (See Dr. Arnold’s chapter on the greatness of the monarchy, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i. c. 5.)

*Adepta libertate*.—The perfect participle of the deponent used passively. The passive use of *adipiscor* is preserved in the indicative and infinitive, e.g. in Plautus, *Trinum*, act ii. sc. 2, 8: ‘Non ætate verum ingenio adipiscitur sapientia; amitti quam aspici.’ Fabius Maximus, ap. Priscian, viii. 4, § 16.

*Labos*.—Sallust, Servius remarks (*Aeneid* i. 253), prefers this form to the more usual one in *r*. ‘Sallustius pæne ubique *labos* posuit, quem nulla necessitas (sc. metri) coagit.’ The double form, in *r* and *s*, arose from the fact that some of the dialects of Greece which affected the Roman language, preferred respectively *r* or *s*; thus the *Aeolo-Doric* employed *ἴππορ*, *πόρ*, *σιόρ*, *πίσορ*, for *ἴππος*, *πόνος*, *θέός*, *πίθος*, etc.

*Se properabat*.—‘Se,’ after a verb of wishing. See note on c. i.

*Eas ... eam*.—Comp. ‘eos mores, eam modestiam,’ c. 51, infra. ‘Eas’ here agrees with ‘dixitias’ in place of ‘id.’

*Pugnando ceperit*.—So Jugurtha, c. 30, ‘Aliquot urbes pugnando cepit.’

*Ni ea res*.—‘Were it not that such an enumeration?’—*Memorare possem*. ‘Would draw me too far from the subject in hand?’

VIII. *Sed profecto*.—‘But, methinks, in everything Fortune is mistress. She makes famous or veils in oblivion all things that are, yet more in accordance with caprice than truth.’ ‘*Celebrare*,’ ‘to make famous,’ occurs in Jugurtha, c. 85: ‘Hæc atque talia majores vestri faciendo seque renque publicam celebravere.’

*Sed quia provenere* = *sed quia proventus erat*; ‘but inasmuch as there was ample supply, succession of writers of great ability,’ ‘scriptorum magna ingenia.’ Compare ‘robora virorum’ = ‘viri robusti,’ Curtius, iii. 2, § 13; ‘Argivæ robora pubis’ = ‘proles robusta,’ Catull. lxiv. 4.

*Eorum, qui ea fecere*.—This phrase, by no means elegant, occurs in Jugurtha, c. 31: ‘Neque eos qui ea facere pudet.’

*At populo Romano.*—The same as Tacitus calls ‘veteri populo R.’; render, ‘but to the Romans in early days.’ Ovid has a similar sentiment, Fasti iii. 101 :—

‘ Nondum tradiderat victas victoribus artes  
Græcia, facundum sed male forte genus.  
Qui bene pugnabat, Romanam noverat artem,  
Mittere qui poterat pila disertus erat.’

IX. *Concordia maxima, minima avaritia.*—This is a mere rhetorical vaunt. In these good old times, the Patricians and the Commons were for centuries engaged in perpetual feuds: so much for ‘concordia;’ and the principal cause of dissension was the laws which gave the creditor power to enslave, perhaps to murder, his debtor: so much for ‘minima avaritia.’

*Jus bonumque.*—‘That which was lawful and honourable.’ ‘Jus et fas’ is whatsoever is according to human and divine law.

*Non legibus magis quam natura.*—Ovid, Fasti i. 251,—

‘ Proque metu populum sine vi pudor ipse regebat,  
Nullus erat justis reddere jura labor;’

and Tacitus, De Mor. Germ. c. 19, ‘Plus ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges,’ have expressed a similar sentiment.

*In suppliciis.*—The primitive import of ‘supplicium’ is ‘a kneeling down.’ The criminal, when about to be strangled or beheaded, knelt down before the executioner, hence ‘supplicium’ signifies punishment; but men kneel also in prayer, hence the word signifies also worship, as in this case.

*Seque . . . curabant.*—They regulated their own conduct and administered public affairs. ‘Curare’ is also a military term; see infra, c. 59: ‘Fæsulanum quendam in sinistra parte curare.’ It is sometimes employed intransitively by Sallust; e.g. Jugurth. c. 57: ‘Legatis imperat ubi quisque curaret;’ comp. *ib.* c. 60. As an inferential sense, from the act of administering, regulating, arranging, the substantive ‘cura’ signifies a literary work; e.g. the published speech of an orator, as in Tacitus, Orator. c. 6: ‘Sive novam et recentem curam [orationem] non sine aliqua trepidatione attulerit;’ id. Annal. iv. 11 :—‘Hi quorum in manus cura nostra [liber noster] venerit.’ Comp. Ovid, Epist. ex Pont. iv. 16, v. 39 :—

‘ Essent et juvenes quorum, quod inedita cura est,  
Appellantorum nil mihi juris adest.’

*Contra imperium.*—As in the instances of young Manlius, Livy, viii. 3; Postumus Tubertus, Val. Max. ii. 7, § 6.

*Ignoscere quam persecui.*—‘Ignoscere’ may be used absolutely, but hardly ‘persequi.’ After the latter we must supply ‘eam.’

X. *Labore atque justitia.*—‘By its energy in war and its equity in peace.’

*Reges magni, etc.*—‘Reges:’ Pyrrhus, Philip V. of Macedon, Perseus, Antiochus; ‘nationes feræ:’ Gauls, Ligurians, Spaniards, etc.; ‘populi:’ the Greeks and Syrians, generally.

*Ab stirpe.*—‘Root and branch.’

*Sævire Fortuna.*—The impolicy of destroying ‘ab stirpe’ Carthage—‘æmula imperii Romani’—had been perceived, before the event, by the wiser and greater statesmen of the day. Scipio Nasica stoutly opposed the fanatical old Cato, by representing that a rival like Carthage, whom

the treaty that followed the second Punic War had rendered too weak to be formidable, and who yet was strong enough to keep Rome on her guard, would be rather serviceable than hurtful to the commonwealth, ‘for,’ he argued, ‘if freed from all external fears, she would become a prey to intestine commotion.’ And so it proved. But ‘de-lenda est Carthago,’ the burden and the close of all Cato’s speeches aroused and kept alive the greed of his hearers.

*Patebant.*—‘Were thrown open to, made accessible to.’ In the course of eighteen years, b.c. 168–146, Macedonia and all its dependencies, Ætolia, Illyrium, and all northern Greece became Roman provinces; in the space of one year, b.c. 146, Carthage and Corinth were destroyed, and two new provinces, Africa and Achaia, annexed to the Roman empire. With Carthage, Spain had for the most part fallen; with Greece, all the greater islands of the Ægean, except Rhodes, Cyprus, and Crete.—*Cuncta maria terræque.* By the acquisition of Macedonia, Rome was released from all direct taxes; by that of Africa and Sardinia, she gained two granaries in addition to the former one of Sicily, and thus was rendered nearly independent of agriculture at home, while the mines of Spain and the wealth of Asia and Syria were poured into her treasury. It is no exaggeration, therefore, to say, as Sallust does, that to Rome money was the root of evil, ‘materies omnium malorum.’ A nation of coarse landowners and soldiers was suddenly endowed with the opulence of great capitalists. The consequence was that the rich were plunged in coarse sensuality, the poor disdained to labour, but expected to be fed and amused.

*Miscere.*—Threw everything into confusion, as it were, by stirring up the dregs or sediment.

*His otium.*—Comp. Jugurtha, c. 41: ‘Quod in adversis rebus optaverant otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbiusque fuit.’ These repetitions of similar, if not identical sentiments, in his two unmutilated productions (and the fragments afford other examples of the kind), are consequences of Sallust’s mode of composition, ‘carptim,’ piece-meal. Had he written a continuous history, he would doubtless have weeded out these repetitions.

*Pro his... habere.*—This is an involved construction. ‘Negligere’ is equivalent to ‘negligentiam... habere.’

*Falsos = fallaces.*—In this passage, ‘falsus’ is used actively, as in Tacitus, Annals i. 7: ‘Quanto quis illustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinanter vultaque composito;’ but in Jugurtha, c. 85, it is used passively: ‘Næ illi falsi sunt, qui... expectant.’

*Clausum ... promptum.*—Comp. Iliad ix. 313:—

“Οσ χ' ἔτερον μὲν κεύθει ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ξλλο δὲ βαζει.

‘Habere in lingua promptam,’ to have at the tongue’s end. ‘Speech,’ according to a great authority in the art of duplicity, ‘is given us to conceal our thoughts.’

*Non ex re, sed ex commodo.*—‘Not by their real worth, but by their supposed value,’ i.e. selfishly computed. ‘Estimo’ has generally the primary sense of ‘counting,’ ‘reckoning.’

*Invasit.*—‘Rushed in;’ absolutely, as ‘invasere’ in c. 2, *supra*, and ‘incessit’ in Jugurtha, c. 13; ‘incessere,’ ib. c. 41.

XI.—‘But at first it was rather the desire of honours,—i.e. rank, titles, position, etc.,—‘than love of money, which occupied men’s minds, a fault

which, although grave, yet has some alliance with virtue, or rather, a manly character, "virtus." For the good and the bad alike aspire to be famous, to be honoured, to command. But the good man would climb to eminence openly and honestly; the bad, having no good principles to sustain him, strives to gain it by indirect means and tortuous paths.'

*Propius virtutem.*—'The last infirmity of noble minds,' Milton. Comp. for 'propius,' Jugurtha, c. 18: 'propius mare Africam'; c. 19: 'proxime Hispaniam'; Livy, ii. 48: 'proxime formam latrocini.' The preposition 'ad,' understood here, is expressed by Plautus, Miles Gloriosus, act ii. sc. 2, 30: 'Si accesserit prope ad te.'

*Vera via.*—'The straight road,' opposed to 'prava,' 'the crooked.' Sallust, De Rep. Ordinand.: 'Animus ferox prava via ingressus.'

*Studium* implies the eager quest of,—*Habet* is more emphatic than the simple *est*, and involves the idea of necessity or habit.

*Venenis malis.*—'Malis' is necessary, because 'venenum' does not absolutely mean anything positively noxious; it is used by Horace in the sense of a dye (*φάρμακον*), Epist. ii. 1, 207: 'Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.' Caius, Digest. 50, tit. 16, c. 236, says: 'Qui venenum dicit, adjicere debet, utrum malum an bonum: nam et medicamenta venena sunt: quia eo nomine omne continetur, quod adhibitum naturam ejus, cui adhibitum esset, mutat. Quum id quod nos *venenum* appellamus, Græci *φάρμακον* dicunt, apud illos quoque tam medicamenta, quam quæ nocent, hoc nomine continentur.' In legal phraseology 'venenum,' in the sense of poison, was usually distinguished by an epithet, e.g. 'Qui venenum malum fecit' (Cicero, pro Cluent. c. liv.).

*Armis recepta republica.*—After Sulla, by force of arms, had reinstated the senatorian government, i.e. as it was before Sulpicius, by his laws and ruffians, his Anti-senatus had thrown all authority, for the moment, into the 'Comitia Tributa.'—*Ex bonis initii.* At first Sulla's arrival in Italy seemed the harbinger of peace and order (Velleius, ii. 25): 'Putares, Sullam venisse in Italiam non belli vindicem sed pacis auctorem, tanta cum quiete exercitum per Calabriam Apuliamque, cum singulari cura frugum, agrorum, hominum, urbium perduxit.—*Malos eventus.* But ill was the issue of this specious commencement. Cicero, De Offic. iii. 8: 'In illo secuta est honestam causam non honesta Victoria.' Sulla, until he had cleared the Samnite passes, and debouched on the plains of the Liris, professed, like Bolingbroke (Shakespeare, Richard II. act iii. sc. 3)—

'His coming hither had no further scope  
Than for his lineal royalties, . . .

. . . which, granted once,  
His glittering arms he will commend to rust,  
His barbed steed to stables, and his heart  
To faithful service,' etc.

*Asia.*—The Asia of the Romans was Asia intra Taurum, Asia Minor. Asia, in its present sense, was denominated by them 'Oriens,' when no especial province or king was intended. 'In Asia,' during his campaigns against Mithridates, from B.C. 87 to 83. 'In Asiam,' as some editors would prefer to read, implies that Sulla merely led his army into that region.

*Habuerat.*—'Had treated them with,' or, rather, 'had accustomed them to excessive indulgence and license.' Comp. Jugurth. c. 103: 'Accurate ac liberaliter habuit.'

*Amœna*.—‘ Pleasant to the eye.’ ‘ Amœna loca... quod solum amorem præsent et ad se amanda alicant,’ Varro, ap. Isidor. Orig. 14. ‘ Amœna, voluptaria;’ comp. Servius, ad Aeneid v. 734: ‘ Amœna sunt loca solius voluptatis plena.’ The root of *a-mænus* is perhaps to be found in the Etruscan word *manus* or *manis*, ‘ good.’ Donaldson’s Varronianus, 2nd edit. p. 160.

*Ibi primum insuevit*.—To what extent the soldiers of Rome finally became enervated by luxury and high living may be seen in the following passage of Gibbon, compiled and condensed from the Augustan historians and Herodian (Decline and Fall, c. v.). ‘ The vanity of the soldiers was flattered with the honour of wearing gold rings: their ease indulged in the permission of living with their wives in the idleness of quarters. Their pay was increased beyond the example of former times: and they were taught to expect, and soon to claim, extraordinary donatives on every public occasion of danger or festivity. Elated by success, enervated by luxury, and raised above the level of subjects by their dangerous privileges, they soon became incapable of military fatigue, oppressive to the country, and impatient of a just subordination.’ To save the soldiers the weariness of long marches on foot, mules and carriages were provided when they moved their quarters or advanced towards an enemy; and in their Eastern encampments they were protected from the heat by trellises of vines and gourds or in chambers scooped in the sides of hills. The insolence and immunities of the military order at Rome, under the Emperors, are described in the 16th of Juvenal’s Satires.

*Potare* is to drink to excess; ‘ bibere’ to drink, simply. The excess in ‘ potare’ is expressed in the English phrase of ‘ potations pottle-deep.’ ‘ Bibunt sobrii ad naturæ necessitatem: potant ebriosi affluenter et ad ebrietatem.’

*Privatum ac publice*.—‘ Without caring whether they took private or public property.’

*Delubra*.—This word marks the universal character of the pillage,—‘ nihil reliqui victis fecere,’—which ‘ templo,’ in its place, would not have done. For men may rob a temple if they carry off its tables, tripods, sacrificial vessels, sacerdotal garments, etc.; but in robbing a shrine they take what is peculiarly consecrated to the deity, and therefore what is probably most enriched with gold, silver, and jewels. ‘ Delubrum proprie est ædacula in qua stat Dei cujusdam simulacrum: templum vero est ædificium Deo sacratum. Ita Delubrum est parvum templum, vel pars templi: ut Capitolium fuit templum, in quo tria Delubra communi pariete cladebantur, Jovis, Junonis, et Minervæ.’ The poets, however, seldom observe these distinctions (Noltenii Lexic. Antibarb. s.v. *Delubrum*).

*Animos fatigant*.—‘ Even good men’s principles are sapped by prosperity; how much less then, would such profligates (as Sulla’s army was composed of) use their victory with moderation!’

XII. *Postquam divitiæ*.—Comp. De Ordinand. Rep. ii. 6: ‘ Postquam divitiæ claras haberi.’

*Hebescere*.—‘ Manly worth gradually lost its lustre,’ as metals are tarnished by damp or foul air. ‘ Hebescere virtus,’ comp. Milton’s phrase, Par. Regained, ‘ To slacken virtue and abate her edge.’

*Innocentia*.—Tacitus, Hist. ii. 45, says that the soldiers of Otho demanded the execution of Marius Celsus, consul elect, as ‘ industriæ ejus innocentiaeque quasi malis artibus infensi.’—*Malevolentia* is ‘ singularity,’ ‘ a spirit of opposition.’

*Ex divitiis.*—Riches—‘auri sacra fames’—being the prompter of avarice and prodigality. The preposition denotes the cause or origin; *infra*, c. 14: ‘Uti cujusque studium ex ætate flagrabat;’ and in *Jugurth.* c. 32: ‘Timido et ex conscientia diffidenti.’ Translate: ‘Hence prodigality and cupidity, with their attendant pride, having the desire of riches for their common root, assailed the Roman youth: they were violent and profuse: despised what was their own, coveted what belonged to others; held cheap modesty, chastity, morals, and religion, and neither weighed nor measured their thoughts or actions.’ *Seneca (De Benefic. i. 9)* has accepted some of *Sallust’s* phrases in this passage: ‘Jam rapta spargere, sparsa rapaci avaritia recolligere certant: nihil pensi habere, paupertatem alienam contemnere, suam quam ullum aliud vereri malum,’ etc.

*Operæ pretium est.*—*Seneca, Epistol.* 86, draws a similar and a very interesting comparison between the baths and country-houses which contented the Scipios, and those which hardly sufficed for the luxury of his own time. Compare also *Horace, Od. ii. 15, 13*:

‘Privatus illis census erat brevis,  
Commune magnum: nulla decempedis  
Metata privatis opacam  
Porticus excipiebat Arcton;  
Nec fortuitum spernere cæspitem  
Leges sinebant, oppida publico  
Sumtu jubentes et Deorum  
Templa novo decorare saxo.’

*Omnia ea sociis.*—Cicero, comparing the capture of Syracuse by Marcellus with the spoliation of the city by the Prætor Verres, says (*In Verrem, Orat. iv. 52*), ‘Ab illo qui cepit conditas, ab hoc qui constitutas accepit, captas dicetis Syracusas.’ Juvenal (*Satir. viii. 87, 130*) lectures on a similar theme.

*Proinde quasi.*—‘Exactly as if,’ ‘id demum,’ ‘that above all.’

XIII. *Subversos montes, etc.*—Hills were levelled or tunnelled to make lakes, salt or fresh, for fish-ponds. This passage especially aims at L. Lucullus, into whose fish-ponds, at Bauli, the sea-water was introduced through tunnels cut in the hills. Hence, with an allusion to the cutting of Mount Athos by the Persians, Lucullus was called ‘Xerxes togatus’ by Cn. Pompeius. See *Velleius*, ii. 33: ‘Lucullus, summus alioqui vir, profusæ hujus in ædificiis convictibusque et apparatibus luxuriæ primus auctor fuit. Quem ob injectas moles mari, et receptum, suffossis montibus, in terras mare, haud infacet, Magnus Pompeius Xerzen togatum vocare assueverat.’ *Pliny (H. N. ix. 54)* says of Lucullus, ‘Exciso etiam monte ... Euripum et maria admisit;’ and *Varro, Re Rustic.* iii. 17, speaking of his fish-ponds at Bauli, ‘Posteaquam perfodisset montem ac maritima flumina immisisset in piscinas.’ Compare also *Macrobius, Saturnalia viii. 24*, for the prodigality of Hortensius the orator in these matters; and *Horace, Od. ii. 18*:

‘Contracta pisces æquora sentiunt  
Jactis in altum molibus;’

and *Virgil, Georgic. ii. 151*; *Cicero, Epist. ad Attic. ii. 1*: ‘Nostri autem principes digito se cœlum putent attingere, si nulli barbati in piscinis sint, qui ad manum accedant, alia autem negligant.’ This folly lasted a hundred and fifty years. See *Martial, Epigram. x. 20*.

*Turpidinem.*—The nominative ‘*turrido*’ occurs in Tertullian (*De Cor. Mil. c. 14*).  
*Cultus* is here used in a bad sense, but it may imply either refinement simply, as in Horace, *Satir. ii. 2, 65*,—

‘Mundus erit qui non offendat sordidus atque  
 In neutram partem cultus miser;’

or extra refinement, extreme delicacy, effeminacy, as in Livy, xxix. 21,  
*‘De cultu ac desidia imperatoris.’*

*Vescendi causa.*—‘For the sake of gratifying the appetite.’

*Terra marique omnia exquirere.*—So Lucan, *Pharsal. iv. 375* :—

‘Luxuries, nunquam parvo contenta paratu,  
 Et quæsitorum terra pelagoque ciborum  
 Ambitiosa famæ et laute gloria mensæ.’

*Luxu* is the dative case, ‘for the enjoyment of luxury.’

*Carebat.*—‘Carere,’ to forego, to be free from. Cic. *Pro Rosc. Amerino, c. xx.* : ‘Abest a culpa, suspicione tamen non caret;’ ‘there is no blame attaching to him; yet, for all that, he is not free from suspicion.’

XIV. *In tanta tamque corrupta civitate.*—The historian now resumes his proper narrative. The preceding account of the manners and morals of the Romans at that time is the background from which the Catilinarian conspiracy is projected.

*Flagitiorum atque facinorum.*—The abstract *crimes* for the concrete *criminals*. ‘*Flagitium*,’ though generally referring to sexual excess, may denote any fault, error, or crime which reflects more or less disgrace on the offender. It implies a less degree of moral guilt than ‘*scelus*,’ etc. (Crombie, *Gymnas. vol. ii. 121*). ‘*Facinus*,’ on the other hand, always implies magnitude, whether in good or in bad; *i.e.* something amazing, monstrous, exceptional in its kind and class. It is generally found with a qualifying adjective, most frequently in the superlative degree, *e.g.* ‘*pessimum*,’ ‘*præclarissimum*;’ and sometimes the context of a passage determines the meaning, good or bad, of ‘*facinus*,’ *e.g.* Cicero, *Pro Milon. c. xvi.* : ‘*Cruentis manibus scelus et facinus præ se ferens.*’ Construe: ‘Of all kinds of profligate and desperate ruffians;’ ‘*tanquam stipatorum*,’ like a body-guard.

*Nam quicunque impudicus.*—Comp. Cicero, *In Catilin. ii. 4* : ‘Quis tota Italia beneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subsector, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quæ mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur.’ And yet, although this profligacy must have been gross, open, and palpable,—if not a mere rhetorical figment of the orator—Cicero, not many months before his own consulate, had some intentions of defending Catilina, and complains that he had been deceived by his pretensions to virtue! Forsooth—

‘The untainted virtue of his years  
 Had not yet dived into the world's deceit;  
 Nor more could he distinguish of a man  
 Than of his outward show’!

*Shakespeare, Rich. III. act iii. sc. 1.*

*Confaverat.*—This word has a secondary meaning, ‘to make;’ *e.g.*

Cicero (*De Offic. i.* 9) : ‘Quibus ex rebus conflatur et efficitur . . . honestum.’ It is also used in the sense of melting, owing to the use of bellows in the processes of minting and fusing metal : ‘Argenteas statuas olim sibi positas conflavit,’ melted them down. Thus the phrase ‘conflare invidiam,’ derived from the primary sense of the verb, that of ‘blowing,’ ‘fanning into a flame.’

*Omnes undique.*—A pleonasm, common indeed to poetry and prose; e.g. comp. Virgil, *Aeneid ii.* 498 :—

‘Quos omnes undique Graiae  
Circum errant acies ;’

Cicero, *De Republ. iii.* 17 : ‘Omnes ad eum honores . . . omnes undique copiae conferuntur.’

*Convicti judiciis.*—Both those who had been found guilty, and those who awaited a verdict of ‘guilty.’

*Manus atque lingua.*—*Manus* refers to ‘sanguine civili,’ *lingua* to ‘perjurio.’

*Hi Catilinæ proximi.*—‘All such men were Catiline’s cherished comrades.’ ‘Catilinæ’ is the genitive case after ‘proximi,’ as in *Jugurtha*, c. 80, ‘Regis Bocchi proximos.’

*Inciderat.*—To ‘fall’ into such an intimacy as into a trap or pitfall.

*Par similisque.*—*Par* refers to the ‘indoiles’—the inner man; *similis* to ‘moribus’—his outward habits and demeanour. ‘Both in reality and in appearance he soon was rendered as bad as the rest.’

*Nam ut, etc.*—Compare Plutarch, Cicero, c. x.: διέφθαρτο δ' ὥπ' αὐτοῦ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει νεότητος, ἡδονὰς καὶ πότους καὶ γυναικῶν ἔρωτας ἀεὶ προξενοῦντος ἐκάστη καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰῦτα δαπάνην ἀφειδῶς παρασκευάζοντος.

*Obnoxios.*—In ‘obnoxius’ lurks the sense of ‘nexus;’ he who ‘obnoxam’ is in the power of another, though he may not actually have been given up to him (‘addictus’). To obtain this hold, to annex a man to his party, Catilina spared neither his purse nor his honour. Then the obnoxious partner in guilt became ‘fidus, addictus.’

XV. *Jam primum.*—These words are not to be construed with ‘adolescens,’ but separately, and in the sense of ‘to give a few instances of many that might be alleged of Catiline’s crimes.’

*Cum virginе nobili.*—Plutarch, Cicero, c. x.: αἰτίαν πρὸς ἄλλοις ἀδικήμασι μεγάλοις ἔλαβε παρθένῳ συγγεγονέναι θυγατρὶ, ικτῖναι δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ. The vagueness of these charges seems to render doubtful the imputations of monstrous wickedness. To have been merely as bad as the worst men of the time, is enough to render Catiline odious ‘to everlasting fame.’ Pope couples Catilina with Borgia, and Macchiavelli proves Cæsar Borgia to have been unduly blackened.

*Cum sacerdote Vesta.*—This priestess is said to have been Fabia, a sister of Terentia the wife of Cicero. Fabia was really brought to trial by Appius Clodius, for violation of her vow. But either because they were persuaded of her innocence, or because they desired to thwart her prosecutor, many of the most respectable citizens, among whom were Cato, Catulus, and Cicero, exerted themselves in her behalf, and procured an acquittal. In his enumeration of Catiline’s crimes, Cicero does not include this scandalous intrigue. Whether he believed his sister-in-law innocent or not, he would be naturally unwilling to connect her name with such a transaction. In the following fragment of his *Oration in*

Toga Candida, b.c. 64, preserved by Asconius, he may indeed have alluded to it: 'Quum ita vixisti ut non esset locus tam sanctus quo non adventus tuus, etiam quum nulla culpa subesset, crimen afferret.'

*Aurelia Orestillæ*.—She was the sister or daughter of Cn. Aurelius Orestes, prætor in u.c. 677, and probably of the family of L. Aurelius Orestes, consul, u.c. 597. The name appears again in u.c. 683, on the consular Fasti, Aufidius L. F. Orestes.

*Cujus, præter formam, nihil unquam bonus laudavit*.—The turn of this sentence is imitated by Tacitus, Annals xiii. 45: 'Huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere, præter honestum animum.'

*Nubere*.—The literal meaning of 'nubere' is, 'to be veiled.' It is always applied to the bride, as 'ducere,' 'to lead,'—i.e. home,—to the bridegroom. The equivalent of 'nubere' is 'duci.' After 'ducere,' 'domum' is to be supplied; after *nubere*, 'se'; e.g. 'Itane tandem uxorem (domum) duxit Antipho?' 'Tullio (se) nupsit,' 'she veiled herself for Tullius,'—the bride wearing a yellow veil, 'flameus.' See Crombie's *Gymnas.* vol. i. p. 157.

*Privignum*.—A son of Catilina by a former marriage.

*Necato filio*.—Cicero, in his Oration for Cluentius e.g., tells a similar story about one Oppianicus. As regards Catiline, however, he does not go as far as Sallust in this passage, but merely says that the death of a former wife had opened Catiline's house to a new marriage. Valerius Maximus, who, living many years after the supposed crime ('pro certo creditur') was committed, of course knows more of the matter than contemporaries could, aggravates it by a circumstance (ix. 1, § 9).

*Quæ quidem res*.—Sallust has just written 'creditur,' now he assumes general rumour to be good evidence, and proceeds to moralize on the premises.

*Infestus*.—In this passage this word is used in a passive sense, and means 'hateful'; more usually it is active, and means 'hostile to.'

*Quietibus*.—Including not only sleep, but other modes of refreshing the body. Cicero (De Offic. i. 29) has both words, 'somno et quietibus.'

*Ita conscientia vastabat*.—'Such havoc did conscience make in his perturbed spirit.' Comp. Jugurtha, c. 41: 'Avaritia polluere et vastare omnia.' The metaphor is derived from the ruin and desolation of war.

*Igitur color exsanguis*.—Wherefore, by reason of his crimes,—'creditor,' crimes attributed, not proven,—'his hue was ashy-pale, his eyes were blood-shot, his steps irregular, and, in short, the brand of a mind diseased was on his brow.' If historically true, this portrait is invaluable; yet, if true, how can Catilina have played the part ascribed to him? Guilty ambition usually wears the smooth mask of hypocrisy, or rather, as Shakespeare counsels:

'Seek none, conspiracy,  
Hide it in smiles and affability :  
For if thou put thy native semblance on,  
Not Erebus itself were dim enough  
To hide thee from prevention.'

Shakespeare, *Jul. Cæsar*, act ii. sc. 1.

XVI. *Sed juventutem*.—The preceding chapter is parenthetic, and these words are connected with the end of c. 14.—*Ex illis*, 'from their ranks,' he was in the habit of obliging people with false witnesses in the law-courts, and with forgers of signatures to wills.—*Signatores*.

'Signator' is a person who attests a will by his seal (Sueton. Tiber. c. 23.). In the mock marriage of Messalina, as described by Juvenal (Sat. x. 339), it is said,—

‘Veniet cum signatoribus auspex.’

Forged seals to wills were called 'signa adulterina' (Cicero, *Pro Client c. xiv.*). As nothing in Roman eyes was more sacred than a will, or more desirable than a legacy, the crime of *forgery* was of proportionally deep dye.—*Commodare* is 'to lend out to others.'

*Fidem, fortunas, pericula.*—'Fidem,' their character; 'fortunas,' their station or condition in life ('fortunae status quo censemur,' as Gesner explains it); 'pericula,' the risk they incurred by committing forgery.

*Attriverat.*—As the gloss is worn off false money by attrition.

*Imperabat.*—This imperfect, 'he kept exacting from them,' governs 'habere,' 'majora alia,' 'circumvenire,' 'jugulare.' For the construction with the infinitive and the substantive, comp. Horace, Od. i. 1, 19 : 'Est qui nec veteris pocula Massici, Nec partem solidō denere de die Spernit'; and for the change from the infinitive 'commodare' to the imperfect 'imperabat,' see *infra*, c. 54 : 'Nihil denegare . . . tibi magnum imperium exop-tabat,' and c. 56.

*Gratuito* = wantonly.—'Without any immediate motive or temptation.' Sallust, *Fragm. Hist.*, distinguishes crime with a motive from wanton or gratuitous wickedness : 'Malitia præmiis exercetur; ubi ea dempseris, nemo *gratuito* malus est.' Cicero (*De Offic. ii. 24*) says nearly the same of Cæsar : 'Ut hoc ipsum eum delectaret, peccare etiam si causa non esset.'

*Æs alienum per omnes terras.*—The insolvents were (1) Roman citizens; (2) the allies and subjects of Rome whom the oppressions of the Government and the Publicani had impoverished and rendered desperate; (3) the colonists, *Sullani milites*, who had squandered their plunder, and were unfitted, by the habit of war, for the cultivation of the lands allotted to them. These discharged veterans, like the mercenary soldiers who, after the Macedonian conquest, afflicted Greece and Asia, were the pest of civilized society, and are satirized by Horace as vulgar, ostentatious braggarts (*1 Satir. vi. 73*); and their poverty and discontent are thus described by Cicero (*Catinil. ii. 9*) : 'In tantum æs alienum inciderunt, ut si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus.' Tacitus (*Annal. xiv. 27*) forcibly delineates the thriftless character of such military colonists.

*In Italia nullus exercitus.*—Italy, 'the sacred soil,' since the reduction of the kingdom of Macedonia into a Roman province, b.c. 167, had been exempt from direct taxation, and from the presence of a standing army. The body-guard of the consuls and principal magistrates consisted of lictors and archers; and the police of the Capital and Italian towns was in the hands of the citizens, a *garde civique*. The first standing army which defended or oppressed Italy was the Prætorian guard of the Emperors.

*In extremis terris.*—Pontus and Armenia. Cn. Pompeius at this period was occupied with the Mithridatic war in the East. By the Manilian Law, b.c. 66, he was invested with proconsular power over all provinces east of the Ægean sea. The phrase 'extremæ terræ' does not imply any remote distance from Rome, nor even the limits of its dominion. Lucan (*Pharsal. iv. 1*) says of Spain,—

'At procul extremis terrarum Cæsar in oris ;'

And Cicero describes Spain and Cilicia as 'ultimæ terræ,' 'ultimæ gentes.'

*Consulatum petenti.*—Though baffled in his first attempt on the consulship in u.c. 688, Catilina still looked forward to that high office. See c. 20 : 'Hæc ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una *consul* agam.' He is here therefore spoken of as still 'inter candidatos.'

*Senatus nihil sane intentus.*—'Could by no means be brought to act in earnest' or to understand the peril on the brink of which they were standing. According to Plutarch (Cicero, c. 15) they were first made sensible of their danger by anonymous letters addressed to their leaders. But this was nearly twelve months later than the period now treated of by Sallust.

*Prorsus.*—'In short,' as in c. 25 : 'Prorsus multæ facetiæ leposque inerat.'

XVII.—*Igitur, circiter.*—'To proceed; somewhere about the 1st of June, in the consulship of L. (Julius) Cæsar and C. (Marius) Figulus (*i.e.* in the year A.U.C. 690, b.c. 64), he made urgent appeals to some, others he sounded; he pointed out their resources, the defenceless condition of the State, the great progress of the conspiracy; and when he had fully extorted all he desired to know, he summons together all those whose need was the greatest, and who possessed abundance of audacity.'

*L. Cæsare.*—Lucius was a distant connection of Julius Cæsar, but uncle of M. Antonius, afterwards Triumvir.

*Explorata.*—The original meaning of this word is 'to extract moisture,' ('ex ploro'). So—

'Et suspensa focis explorat robora fumus,'

*i.e.* to see whether there yet remained any moisture in the wood, hence 'to test.'

*Quæ voluit.*—This is definite. What *Catiline* had determined all along to find out. Had it been when *they* had fully discovered what he meant (he might mean), it would have been 'quæ vellet.'

*Senatorialis ordinis.*—P. Lentulus Sura had been expelled from the Senate, but would take his seat again in right of his prætorship. See c. 46 : 'Consul Lentulum, quod prætor erat, ipse manu tenens perducit.' Plutarch (Cicero, c. xvii.) says of Lentulus, ἀνὴρ γένους μὲν ἐνδόξου, βεβιωκὼς δὲ φανλῶς καὶ δι' ἀσελγείαν ἔξεληλάμενος τῆς βουλῆς πρότερον, τότε δὲ στρατηγῶν τὸ δευτερὸν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνακτωμένοις τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἀξίωμα. Sura, the cognomen of P. Lentulus, means 'an ankle,' and 'Sullas' is a diminutive of the same word. Plutarch (Life of Cicero, c. xvii.) relates a story of this man characteristic of his pride and corruption. 'In the times of Sulla he (Lentulus) was Quæstor, and lost and wasted much of the public money. Sulla was angry at this, and called him to account before the Senate; but Lentulus, coming forward in a very indifferent and contemptuous way, said that he had no account to give, but offered his leg, as boys were wont to do when they make a miss in playing at ball. From this he got the nickname of "Sura," for the Romans call the leg "sura." [This is an idle fancy of Plutarch's, "Sura" as a cognomen having long before been in use.] 'Again, being brought to trial, he bribed some of the judges, and was acquitted by two votes only, whereon he said that what he had given to one of the

judices was fairly wasted, for it was enough to be acquitted by a single vote.' Besides the incentives to revolution furnished by his debts, Lentulus was 'further corrupted by the vain hopes held out by false prophets and jugglers, who recited forged verses and predictions, alleged to be from the Sibylline books, which declared that it was the law of fate that three Cornelii should be monarchs in Rome, two of whom had fulfilled their destiny, Cinna and Sulla, and that the *dæmon* was come and had brought the monarchy to him, the third of the Cornelii.' *Id., ib.*

*L. Cassius Longinus.*—He was as remarkable for his corpulence as his kinsman of the same name, the assassin of Cæsar, was for his leanness,—Shakespeare's 'lean and hungry Cassius.' Of the former, Cicero (*In Catilin.* iii. 7) says: 'Nec mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum, nec L. Cassii adipem, nec Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam.' Cassius's charge in the plot was, it is said, to fire the city in several quarters at once.

*C. Cethagus.*—His full name was C. Cornelius Cethagus. Probably from some peculiar or favourite gesture of his, which tradition handed down to the next century, the poet Lucan calls him 'Cethagus of the bared arm' (*Pharsal.* ii. 544). Cethagus, after the city had been fired, was appointed to superintend a general massacre of the Senate and Equites, and in his house was seized the armoury of the conspirators.

*P. et Servius Sulla.*—These were the Dictator Sulla's nephews, sons of his brother Servius. Publius was defended by Cicero in the following year, and acquitted of his share in this conspiracy.

*L. Vargunteius.*—Of the remaining conspirators here enumerated, it is sufficient to observe that Vargunteius had been Cicero's colleague in the quæstorship, B.C. 75, and had now undertaken to assassinate him; that Porcius Laeca's house was the ordinary rendezvous of the conspirators; that L. Bestia was Tribune in the year of the Plot; and that Q. Curius was the person who, through Fulvia, informed Cicero of all Catiline's and his colleagues' proceedings. Beyond exemption from the halter in the Carcer Tullianum (*infra*, c. lv.), Curius gained little by his treason to his comrades; since the Senate, on the motion of Cicero, conferred on Julius Cæsar the reward for revealing the conspiracy. See *Suetonius, Julius c. 17.*

*Domi nobiles.*—A man became 'nobilis' at Rome after serving a curule magistracy, e.g. the ædileship, praetorship, consulate, censorship; a Latin, Italian, or Provincial became 'nobilis,' in his native city, by filling the office of Dictator, as at Lanuvium; of Praetor, as in the Latin towns; or Decurio, or Duumvir in the Italian cities. The 'municipalis nobilitas,' however, was not held in much esteem by the Optimates of Rome; e.g. Sejanus, the favourite and prime minister of Tiberius, is represented by Tacitus as a man of low birth, although he actually belonged to an ancient Etruscan house (*Annals* iv. 3): 'Seque ac majores et posteriores municipali adultero fœdabat.' Juvenal (*Satir.* viii. 238) couples a 'municipalis eques' with very ordinary people, and Florus (iii. 18) speaks contemptuously of 'municipalia prodigia,'—mere small-town marvels.

*Ceterum juventus.*—Comp. Cicero, *Pro Cælio* iv: 'Multi boni adolescentes illi homini nequam atque improbo [Catilinæ] studuerunt.'

XVIII.—*L. Tullo et M. Lepido consulibus.*—In A.U.C. 688, B.C. 66, three years previous.

*P. Sulla.*—Cicero says (*Pro Sulla*, xxiv.), 'Scilicet is sum qui existem, Cn. Pisonem et Catilinam et Vargunteium et Autronium nihil scelere

rate, nihil audacter ipsos per sese sine P. Sulla facere potuisse.' Sallust does not mention Vargunteius as concerned in this plot also.

*Pecuniarum repetundarum.*—'Extortion.'

*Profligeri.*—To send in his name as candidate 'intra legitimos dies,' within the time prescribed by law.

*Kalendis Januariis.*—Cicero says, 'Pridie Kalend. Jan.' (In Cal. i. 6); also, In Tog. Cand., 'Præterea illum nefarium conatum tuum, et pene acerbum et luctuosum populo Rom. diem cum, Cn. Pisone socio neque alio nemine, cædem optimatum facere voluisti.'

*Ea re.*—The fact that Catilina gave the signal before the time. Cicero (Orat. in Toga Cand.), as quoted by Asconius, says: 'Eandemque cædem non esse factam, quod priusquam parati essent, conjuratis signum dedisset Catilina.'

XIX. *Citeriorem Hispaniam.*—Spain within the Ebro ( $\eta \epsilon\tau\delta\sigma$  Ιβηρία), the eastern portion of the Iberian peninsula, became a Roman province in the year after the expulsion of the Carthaginians, B.C. 205. It continued to be styled the Hither or the Nearer Spain, until the rearrangement of the provinces by Augustus in B.C. 19, and comprised the modern viceroyalties of Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, and Catalonia.

*Quæstor pro prætore.*—Piso, not having hitherto been Praetor, was not entitled to hold a province of the first rank. But the Senate, as immediately appears, were glad to waive the rule on this occasion in order to rid themselves of the presence of a scandalous and dangerous citizen. Comp. Suetonius (Julius i. 9), 'Cui (Pisoni), ob suspicionem urbanæ coniurationis, provincia Hispania ultro, extra ordinem, data;' with which statement Dion. Cassius (xxxvi. 27) agrees. Hither Spain appears to have been a kind of heir-loom, and a fatal one, to the Pisones, since nearly four years before this event, another member of the same family, according to Cicero (Verrin. iv. 25), held the same prætorate, and met in it with an untimely end.

*Infestum.*—As a second predicate, in this place 'infestus' expresses the hostile movement implied in *inimicus*. 'Infestus' and 'infensus' differ in this respect: the former signifies a hostile act or movement, the latter a hostile feeling. Thus, in Æneid v. 641, 'Prima infensum vi corripit ignem,' 'infensum' is equivalent to 'infenso animo,' the active, destroying element of fire. 'Infestus' is used with the words 'agmen,' 'signa,' 'tela,' with special reference to a hostile demonstration, purpose, object. The combination of 'infestus' with 'inimicus' is common among Sallust's contemporaries, e.g. Lucretius, Rer. Nat.:

'Multa meant *inimica* per aureis, multa per ipsas  
Insinuant nareis, *infesta* atque aspera odore;

Cicero (Verrin. iii.), 'Clamore populi Romani *infesto* atque *inimico* exicitatum'; (ib. v.), 'Quis hanc audet dicere aratoribus *infestum* aut *inimicum* fuisse'; Livy (xxxv. 4), 'Neque Boii, neque Hispani, cum quibus eo anno bellatum erat, tam inimici infestique erant Romanis.'

*Iter faciens, occisus est.*—'He was slain on his march,' apparently before he had reached the province. Tacitus (Annal. iv. 4) mentions the murder of Piso, without however indorsing the charge against Pompeius. According to the more recent historian, Piso's assassins were people from Termes or Ternantia, a small town a few leagues west of Numantia, on whose site now stands the modern hamlet 'Ermita de nuestra Señora de Termes.' 'Sed Piso Termostinorum dolo cæsus habetur,

qui pecunias e publico interceptas, acrius quam ut tolerarent barbari, cogebat.'

*Sunt qui ita dicunt.*—The difference between this phrase and the phrase ‘sunt qui ita dicant’ (as some editors would read) is that between a surmise and an assertion; e.g., ‘sunt qui ita dicant’ = some say, perhaps: ‘sunt qui ita dicunt’ = some do say.

*Imperia . . . nequivisse pati.*—Tacitus, in the following passages, nicely defines the boundaries between the endurance and the impatience of the semi-civilized provincials of Rome (*Agricola*, c. 13): ‘Ipsi Britanni dilectum et injuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, si injuriæ absint: has ægre tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant;’ (*id. Annals* iv. 72.) ‘Eodem anno Frisiae, Transrhenanus populus, pacem exuere, nostra magis avaritia, quam obsequii impatientes.’

*Veteres fidosque clientes.*—Comp. Martial, *Epigramm.* ii. 43:—

‘Ex opibus tantis, veteri fidoque sodali,  
Das nihil.’

The Spanish connections (‘clientela’) of Pompeius were probably formed during his command in that province during the Sertorian war, b.c. 76–72. ‘Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes’ is one of those accidental hexameter lines which occasionally occur in Latin prose-writers, such as that in Tacitus (*German.* c. 39), ‘Silvam . . . auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram.’ A considerable, though not very useful, collection of such ‘disjecta membra’ of verse may be found in the second volume (c. 21) of Fabricius’s ‘Bibliotheca Latina’ (p. 389, ed. Ernesti). They were accounted blemishes by the best ancient critics of style (see Cicero, *De Orat.* iii. 47, § 182; *Orator*, 56; Quintilian, *Instit.* ix. 4, § 72), though Quintilian (*ib.* § 74) defends them on the ground of occasional propriety: ‘T. Livius hexametri exordio coepit: Facturus ne operaæ pretium sim. Nam ita edidit, estque melius quam quomodo emendatur,’ etc.

*Imperia sæva . . . perpperso.*—The Spanish peninsula was however one of the most difficult and tedious of the conquests of Rome. The work of its entire subjugation occupied the Republic, at intervals, from b.c. 205 to b.c. 19. Comp. Justin. *xliv. c. 5*: ‘Primo (Scipiones) Pœnos provincia expulerunt: postea cum ipsis Hispanis gravia bella gesserunt. Nec prius, perdomita provincia, jugum Hispani accipere potuerunt, quam Cæsar Augustus, perdomito orbe, victoria ad eos arma transtulit, populumque barbarum ac ferum, legibus ad cultiorem vitæ usum traductum, in formam provinciæ rededit. ‘Of the native barbarians,’ Gibbon remarks (Dec. and Fall, c. 1), ‘the Celtiberians were the most powerful, as the Cantabrians and Asturians proved the most obstinate. Confident in the strength of their mountains, they were the last who submitted to the arms of Rome, and the first who threw off the yoke of the Arabs.’

*Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus.*—This metaphorical expression = ἐν μεσῷ τιθέναι, is derived from the deposition on the ground of a prize to be contended for, e.g., *Iliad* xxiii. 700,—

Πηλείδης δ' αἶψ' ἄλλα κατὰ τρίτα θῆκεν ἀεθλα

· Ἄνδρι δὲ νικηθέντι γυναῖκ' ἐσ μέσσον γέθηκε.

Comp. Cicero (*Pro Cœlio*, c. 20), ‘Mulierem nullam nominabo, tantum in medio relinquam;’ Tacitus (*German.* c. 46), ‘Quod incompetum in medio relinquemus.’ Sallust, a lover of archaisms, may have had in his memory

the annalist Claudius Quadrigarius (ap. Gellium, Noct. Attic. xvii. c. 2), ‘*Nos in medium relinquemus.*’

XX. *Catilina ubi eos . . . convenisse.*—If this meeting of the conspirators was in Catiline’s own house, it was held in that part of the Forum which lay at the foot of the Palatine hill, and was denominated Velia; and considering the supposed object of his associates, was a locality of which the associations were in singular contrast with their purpose, for in the Velia stood the temple of the tutelary Penates, supposed to have been brought by Æneas from Troy (Dion. Halic. i. 68; Varro ix. 8). The meeting, however, is commonly imagined to have been called at the house of M. Læca. Cicero speaks indefinitely of the place: ‘*Dico, Patres Conscripti, superiore nocte, cuiusdam hominis nobilis, et valde in his largitionis quæstu noti et cogniti domum, Catilinam et Antonium cum sequestribus suis convenisse.*’ Asconius absurdly supposes this to have been the residence ‘C. Cæsaris aut Crassi.’

*Universos.*—‘In a body.’ Comp. supra, c. 17, ‘*Primo singulos appellare et hortari.*’

*Orationem hujuscemodi.*—Curius may have reported to Cicero the gist and outline of Catiline’s address; but, from the privacy observed, ‘in abditam partem ædium secessit,’ it is clear that Sallust can have had no authentic report of the speech which follows. Yet these imaginary speeches in the ancient historians, rhetorical exercises as they are, are not more improbable than the (so called) philosophical analyses or summaries of causes of events and motives for action, in which modern historians indulge. Dr. Arnold (Rom. Hist. vol. ii. p. 48) has the following excellent remarks on historical speeches. He says: “I am far from wishing to introduce into history the practice of writing fictitious speeches, as a mere variety upon the narrative, or an occasion for displaying the eloquence of the historian. But when the peculiar views of any party or time require to be represented, it seems to me better to do it dramatically, by making one of the characters of the story express them in the first person, than to state as a matter of fact that such and such views were entertained.”

*Forent.*—‘*Forent,*’ says Servius (Ad Georgica i. 260), ‘*et præteritum et præsens et futurum complectitur: fore tantum semper futuri est temporis;*’ and he cites ‘Sallustius: Ni virtus fidesque vestra spectata.’

*Cecidisset.*—‘Had turned up in our favour;’ a metaphor borrowed from the cast of dice.

*Ignaviam . . . ingenia.*—Abstracts for concretes. See note in c. 14.

*Idem velle atque idem nolle.*—Gordon translates, ‘I have a further incitem-  
ment, when I consider, that the same lot which attends me, good or bad,  
attends you: and, to have the same likes, and the same dislikes, is the  
solid band of amity.’ Comp. Jugurtha, c. 31: ‘*Quos omnes eadem  
cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere, in unum coegit; sed hæc inter  
bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est;*’ imitated by Seneca (De Ira iii.  
34), ‘*Vinculum amoris idem velle.*’ Comp. Silius Italicus (ix. 406), ‘*Velle  
ac nolle ambobus.*’ Sidonius Apollinaris (Epist. xi.), ‘*Imbuamusque  
liberos invicem diligenter idem velle, nolle, refugere, sectari.*’

*Vindicamus in libertatem.*—An allusion to the manumission of slaves ‘per vindictam.’ See Horace, Sat. ii. 7, § 77.

*Paucorum potentium jus.*—Thucydides (iii. 62) denounces this regimen of the few as scarcely preferable to the irresponsible government by one, a tyranny: ‘*Ημῖν μὲν γὰρ ή πόλις τότε ἐπύγχανεν οὕτε κατ’ ὀλιγαρχίαν*

*ισόνομον* — an aristocracy subject to law — πολιτεύουσα, οὕτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν' ὑπερ δέ ἐστι νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ τυράννου δυναστείᾳ δλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα. And the same complaint of the exclusive privileges and pretensions, 'jus atque ditionem,' of the Roman oligarchy is repeated in the Jugurthine War, and echoed by Cicero in his earlier orations, when he was contending against the 'pauci potentes.'

*Reges, tetrarchæ.* — This is a frequent combination, e.g. Cicero, *Pro Milon.* c. 28 : 'Omitto socios, exteras nationes, reges, tetrarchas.' *Id. Philipp.* ii. : 'Reges, tetrarchas, dynastas. Horace, Sat. i. 3, v. 12 :

'Modo reges atque tetrarchs  
Omnia magna, loquens.'

Lucan, *Pharsal.* vii. v. 46 :—

'Tetrarchæ regesque tenent, magnique tyranni.'

Compare Plutarch (*Anton.* c. 56). Tetrarchs were inferior potentates in the eastern division of the Roman empire, who were not honoured by the Senate with the title of Kings. The division was in some cases very minute. Thus, each tribe of the Galatians in Asia had four chiefs. Thessaly was anciently divided into four Tetrarchies (Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 14).

*Boni.* — In this passage 'boni' means 'respectable people.' Comp. 'boni complures' (c. 19, *supra*), *i.e.* several of those on the side of order, such as would be losers in any revolutionary movement. 'Optimates' may be regarded as a sort of political superlative to 'boni.' — *Vulgus*, 'mere nobodies,' 'a rabble.' — For *obnoxii* see above, note on 'Obnoxios,' c. 14.

*Pericula.* — The burden and hazard of war. — *Repulsas*, the minority at elections. — *Judicia*, the costs and delay of law. — *Egestatem*, the poverty and ruin attendant on electioneering and law-proceedings.

*Consenserunt.* — 'Have grown decrepit.' 'Consenesco' is frequently used without the preposition, like 'marceo' in *Lucretius* iii. 958 :—

'Si tibi non annis corpus jam marcat, et artus  
Confecti languent.'

This was the older usage; later writers retained the preposition, e.g. Ovid (*Amor.* i. El. 13, 39) :—

'Cur ego pector amans, si vir tibi marcat ab annis.'

Livy employs 'consenescō' in nearly the same sense, xxxiv. 35 : 'Ut cunctando consenserent consilia.' Comp. ἐγγηράσεσθαι, in Thucyd. vi. 18 : 'Divitiis consenserunt.' Comp. Tacitus (*Annals* iii. 46) : 'Quanto pecunia dites et voluptatibus opulentos, tanto magis imbelles Aedui.'

*Exstruendo mari et montibus coæquandis.* — See note on c. 13, 'Subversos montes.'

*Domos continuare.* — 'Laying house to house' = 'continuo aliiquid facere, ædificare, annexere'; as in Tacitus (*Annals* xv. 39) : 'Domui ejus, qua palatum et Mæcenatis hortos continuaverat.' 'Continuare dapes,' 'to add dish to dish,' Horace, *Sat.* ii. 6, v. 107. Livy (xxxiv. 4) censures the ambition of laying field to field, 'ingens cupiditas agros continuandi.'

*Larem familiarem.* — As we say, 'a home of our own,' 'a house over our heads.' Tiberius Græchus, years before (B.C. 134), had complained 'that the men who had won by their valour the wealth of Rome were themselves houseless,—ἄστοικοι καὶ ἀνίδρυτοι μετὰ τέκνων πλανῶνται καὶ

*γυναικῶν*,—and that while the beasts of Italy had their lairs, the Roman pauper had no roof to shelter him' (Plutarch, Tib. Gracch. c. 9).

*Trahunt, vexant* = agunt, ferunt.—The metaphor is derived from 'laying waste a country'; or perhaps 'trahere' refers not so much to driving off cattle ('agere') as to dragging away such things as were too heavy to be carried.

*Præter miseram animam*.—Plutarch, *l. c.*, makes Tiberius Gracchus say that the poor of Rome had nothing left them except air and light,—*ἄέρος καὶ φωτὸς, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενὸς μέτεστιν*.

*Quin igitur expurgiscimini*.—'Will you not then awaken as from slumber? Behold the objects for which you have yearned so long! Freedom, and besides freedom, wealth, office, and distinction, all set full in your view. All these rewards Fortune has offered to the conquerors. Your cause, the crisis, the perils that compass you about, the want that presses on you, the splendid fruits of war,—all these are indeed motives to urge you, mightier than any words of mine. For myself, employ me in this enterprise as you will, whether as your captain or your comrade; neither my heart nor my hand shall be wanting to you.'

*Imperatore vel milite*.—Comp. Civilis in Tacitus (Hist. iv. 66): 'Transgredior ad vos, seu me ducem, seu militem mavultis.'

*Una consul agam*.—That Catiline's expectations of the consulship were not quite unfounded, is intimated by Cicero himself (Pro Muræna, xxiv.): 'Sed tamen, Servi, quam te securim putas injecisse petitioni tuæ, cum tu populum Rom. in eum metum adduxisti, ut pertimesceret, ne consul Catilina fieret.'

XXI. *Neque res neque spes*.—Sallust is fond of using two words of similar sound together, *e.g.* (c. 11), 'copia, inopia; potare, amare.'—*Spes bono*. So Thucydides, ii. 42: *κακαπραγοῦντες οὖς ἐλπὶς οὐκ ἔστι ἄγαθον*.

*Quieta movere*.—'To disturb the existing state of things.'—*Merces*. So Lucan (Pharsalia vii. 751): 'Scire ruunt, quanta fuerint mercede nocentes.'

*Quæ conditio belli*.—'That he should set forth on what terms they were to engage in the war; what were to be their rewards; what strength or countenance they might depend on; and what were the chances of success.' 'Quid opis, ubique eam, haberent.' Comp. *infra*, c. 47: 'Quid, aut qua de causa, consili.

*Tabulas novas*.—The well-known *χρεῶν ἀποκοπή*, 'abolition of debts,' the most ill-omened of sounds to Roman ears. Appian (Samnit. i. § 2). The 'tabulæ' were the account-books in which the money-lenders entered the names of their debtors and the amount of their debts. 'Tabulæ novæ' meant strictly a re-adjustment of debt and credit, such as from the epoch of the Licinian Laws, in b.c. 364, to Milo's project in the time of Julius Cæsar, occasionally relieved the necessities of the Roman commons. But in the later revolutions of the commonwealth, 'tabulæ novæ' was a sort of euphemism for 'tabulæ nullæ'; not relief of burdens so much as wholesale bankruptcy. In earlier times it was characterized correctly, by the Auctor de Viris Illustribus, as a remedial measure, *e.g.*, 'M. Valerius, sublatu ære alieno, seditionem compressit'; but at this moment, b.c. 64, it was regarded, and described by all settled societies, as a measure which 'was, like war, an enormous evil, but which in this was most unlike war, that it was never adopted except when it was really necessary to prevent an evil still greater,' Arnold, Hist.

of Rome, vol. ii. p. 125. It was idly imagined that Cæsar, in b.c. 49, would propose 'tabulæ novæ'; and Cicero, who misconceived the great conservator's aims and temper, says (Ad Atticum, vii. 11): 'Num honestum est igitur,' when he had just heard of the passage of the Rubicon,—'χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, φυγάδων καθόδους, sexcenta alia scelera moliri,

τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν τυραννίδα;

As the social position of a Roman citizen was determined by the Censors, and as they decided by the returns of his yearly income on an average of five years ('lustrum'), it may be easily imagined the horror which a proposal to expunge standing accounts would cause in all who had anything to lose, or any moneys at usance. 'New books' was the most hideous of revolutionary spectres.

*Sacerdotia*.—The more important priesthoods had large incomes attached to them. The funds derived from land, customary and free gifts, etc., were in the keeping of the Pontiffs, and deposited in the *Ærarium Pontificum*, a strong chamber in the *Domus Publica* of the *Pontifex Maximus* (Varro, *De Lingua Latin.* iv. p. 49, Bipont. ed.; Festus, *s.v.* *Septimontium*). In the later years of the Republic the luxurious living of the Pontiffs was proverbial. Horace, *Od. ii. 14*, 'hæres'—

'et mero  
Tinget pavimentum superbo  
Pontificum potiore cenis.'

Comp. Martial, *Epigramm. xii. 48*, v. 12. Macrobius, *Saturnal. ii. 9*, describes the prodigality of these stewards of the 'sacra publica.'

*Fert*.—Construe, 'bring with them,' *sub.* 'secum.' 'Fert' is used in the singular by attraction, 'bellum *et* lubido' being equivalent to 'victorum lubido.'

*Præterea*.—Hence it appears that the news of Piso's assassination had not yet reached Rome.

*P. Sittium Nucerinum*.—It does not appear how this able adventurer, who played no inconsiderable part in the revolutionary wars a few years later, became connected with Catiline. If his adhesion to the conspiracy be not merely an expectation or a vaunt of the latter, Sittius and his principal must have arranged their affairs during Catiline's government in Africa, b.c. 67. Catiline, indeed, may have fairly presumed on the aid of Sittius, who was generally engaged in every plot of the time. It was said that P. Sulla had sent him into Spain to excite an insurrection against the Roman government, and accordingly Cicero, when he defended Sulla in b.c. 62, was obliged also to throw his shield over Sittius, and to deny the truth of the charges brought against him (Cicero, *Pro Sulla*, c. 20). Sittius went to Mauritania in b.c. 63, and there, as his property in Italy had been sold to pay his debts, he remained for life, doing Caesar excellent service from the year b.c. 46. The Dictator recompensed Sittius by a grant of lands in the western portion of Numidia. He divided this vast estate among his soldiers, and lived among them like a feudal chief, until after Cæsar's death. He was slain by stratagem by Arabio, the son of Massinissa. Cicero (*Ad Atticum xv. 17*) thought that Arabio did the State service by destroying Sittius: 'Arabioni de Sittio nihil irascor.' (See *Hirtius, B. African.* 25, foll.; *Dion. Cass. xlvi. 3-12*.)

*C. Antonium*.—He was an uncle of M. Antonius, afterwards *Triumvir*, and a son of the celebrated orator M. Antonius, commemorated by Cicero

in his treatise *De Oratore*, and put to death by Marius in B.C. 87 (Plutarch, *Marius*, c. 44). After ‘familiarem’ supply ‘suum,’ and render, ‘With whom Catiline was on the best of terms, and who, like himself, was plunged over head and ears in debt.’

*Petitionem*.—Sc. ‘consulatū’ for the next year, B.C. 62. Catiline’s speech was delivered on or about the Kalends of June (*supra*, c. 17). The elections were usually held before the Kalends of August.

XXII. *Populares sceleris sui*.—‘The partners of his crime.’

*Humani... sanguinem*.—Dion, Cassius (xxxvii. 30) and Plutarch (Cicero, c. 10) relate that Catiline, having stabbed a young slave, proposed the oath to the conspirators holding in his hands the entrails of his victim, and compelling them to do the like. This, in all respects, except the substitution of a human for an animal victim, was the ordinary sacrificial procedure.

*Alius alii tanti facinoris consciī*.—‘And he averred that he did so in order to engage them more strictly to mutual fidelity, as each was privy to the guilt of another in so horrible a deed.’ For a similar sentiment comp. Tacitus (*Annals* vi. 4), ‘Metum prorsus et noxam conscientiae pro fœdere haberī;’ (*id. ib. xi. 26*), ‘Adesse conscos paria metuentes;’ and Thucydides (iii. 11), τὸ ἀντίταλον δέος μόνον πιστὸν ἐσ συμμαχίαν.

*Nonnulli facta existimabant*.—Cicero does not formally accuse Catiline of this abominable parody of a religious rite; yet there seems an allusion to it, or some hideous secret, in his first Catilinarian Oration (c. 6): ‘Quæ quidem (sica) quibus ab te initiata sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas consulis in corpore defigere.’—*Invidiam*. Ill-feeling against Cicero, either at the time of the impending accusation by Clodius (B.C. 48), or at the moment when his friends were paving the way for his return from exile.

*Atrocitate sceleris*.—Perhaps the motive of the crime, the destruction of the Commonwealth, if such indeed were Catiline’s object, appeared to contemporaries more atrocious than the ceremony just related. Human sacrifices, on very critical occasions, long lingered in the pagan world, and, if we may believe the Christian apologists, were offered in certain temples annually, so late as the second or third centuries of the Christian era. Among other examples that might be cited I select the following. In the sixth century of Rome, u.c. 538, four human victims, at a momentous crisis of the Second Punic War, were offered at Rome in the cattle-market, Livy, xxii. 57: ‘Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta: inter quæ Gallus et Galla, Græcus et Græca, in foro boario sub terra vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo conceptum, jam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.’ Plutarch (*Marcell.* c. 3) records, almost in the same terms, a similar sacrifice that occurred about eleven years earlier, in the consulship of M. Valerius Messala and Apustius Fullo. In this passage Plutarch boasts of the superior humanity of the Greeks as compared with the Romans. Yet Herodotus (iii. 11) records a sacrifice worthy of Catiline: ‘Ελλῆνες τε καὶ Κάρες ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἔνα ἔκαστον τῶν παιδῶν, ἔσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα... οἰνόν τε καὶ ὑδωρ ἔσεφθεον ἐς αὐτὸν ἔμπλοντες δὲ τοῦ ἀλματος πάντες οἱ ἐπίκουροι οὕτα δὴ συνέβαλον.’ Pausanias (iv. 9) says that during their war with Lacedæmon, the Oracle of Delphi commanded the Messenians to offer a young maiden to the powers of darkness:

Κούρην ἄχραντον νερτέροισι δάίμοσι  
Θυηπολεῖτε νυκτέροισιν ἐν σφαγαῖς.

and Porphyrius (*De Abstinentia*, ii. 55) mentions a man-devouring Iacchus, to whom for many ages men were offered at Athens. Tertullian (*Adv. Gnostic.* c. 7), Minucius Felix (*Apolog.* c. 21), and Lactantius (*Instit. Divin. De Fals. Relig.* i. 21), each affirm that to the Jupiter of the Alban Hill—Jupiter Latiaris—human victims ('etiam nunc,' 'hodie,' 'hodiernum,' etc.) continued to be offered in the third century A.D.

*Nobis . . . comperta est.*—'In our opinion,'—*nobis*,—'the fact, for a matter of importance, is not sufficiently ascertained,—does not rest on sufficient grounds of evidence to be affirmed *pro certo*.'

XIII. *Sed in ea conjuratione.*—'Now there was in this conspiracy one Quintus Curius.' 'Sed' = δέ. Curius was one of those trusted by his chief, since from c. 20 it appears that all who were not in his secret were excluded ('omnibus arbitris procul amotis').—*Loco* = 'familia,' as in Terence—

'Offendi adveniens quendam mei loci atque ordinis hominem.'

Curius is mentioned by Cicero (*Epist. ad Atticum*, i. 1) and by Asconius (in *Orat. in Toga Candida*, p. 988).

*Coopertus.*—Comp. Jugurth. c. 14: 'Inopem et coopertum miseriis effecti'; Horace (2 Sat. i. 68): 'Famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus'; and, still earlier, Cato, Ap. Gellium, lib. xiii. c. 23: 'Quum nefarium facinus pejore facinore operire postulas.' Tacitus (*Annals* iii. 69) employs the same metaphor: 'Ne quis vita probrosus, et coopertus infamia, provinciam sortiretur.'

*Probi gratia.*—'On account of his scandalous conduct.'

*Vanitas.*—'This empty fellow's folly was equalled by his effrontery alone. He could neither keep secret what he had heard, nor conceal his own vices; in a word, he was equally reckless both in what he said and in what he did.' 'Vanus' is thus defined by the grammarian Apollinaris, cited by Gellius (N. A. xviii. 4): 'Vanos proprie dici, non, ut vulgus diceret, desipientes, aut hebetes, aut ineptos, sed, ut veterum doctissimi dixissent, mendaces et infidos et levia inaniaque pro gravibus et veris astutissime componentes;' thus answering to μάταιος (Aristotel. *Ethic.* Nicomach. iv. 7, § 10). Servius (Ad *Aeneid.* ii. 80) thus distinguishes between 'vanus' and 'mendax': 'Vanum, fallacem; et vanus est, qui etiam sine utilitate mentitur: mendax qui tantum ad decipiendum. Sane vanus, stultus apud idoneos invenitur, ut Juvenalis (Sat. iii. 159): Sic libitum vano, qui nos distinxit, Othoni.'

*Consuetudo.*—'Criminal intercourse.' The verb 'consuescere' is employed in this sense by Terence (*Adelph.* act iv. sc. 5): 'Qui cum illa consuevit prius.' And Plautus (*Cistellaria*, act i. sc. i. v. 89): 'Et unquam cum quiquam viro consuevisti.' Florus (iv. 1) exaggerates the evil reputation of Fulvia: 'Tanti sceleris indicium per Fulviam emersit, vilissimum scortum, sed parricidii innocens,' i.e. 'but who would have nothing to do with such sweeping homicide';—while Appian (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 3) calls her γύναιον οὐκ ἀφανές.

*Minus gratus quia minus largiri.*—Comp. Plautus (*Pseudol.* act i.):

'Non est usui quisquam amator, nisi qui perpetuat data,  
Det usque; quando nihil sit, simul amare desinat.'

*Maria montesque.*—Sc. 'auri,' as Terence (*Phormio*, act i. sc. ii.):

'Is senem per epistolam pellexit, modo non montes auri pollicens.'

There was an ancient proverb, θάλασσα χρυσοῦ, or χρυσίου πόντος and we say, 'oceans of money.'

*Obnoxia*.—See note on ‘*Obnoxios fidosque*,’ supra, c. 14. In this passage ‘obnoxia’ means ‘compliant with’ or ‘subject to,’ as in Tacitus (*Annals* xvi. 6): ‘Quippe liberorum cupiens et obnoxius amori uxoris.’

*Insolentiae*.—‘The unusual demeanour, and sudden arrogance.’

*Haud occultum habuit*.—‘Habere’ involves the notion of a state or condition (*ἔξις*), a continued, not a single act.—*Sublato auctore*, keeping her informer’s name back.—*Compluribus*, to several persons at once: probably not to Cicero in the first instance, since, until the leaders of the oligarchy, Catulus, Lucullus, etc., were thoroughly alarmed, they would not consent to take the *parvenu* Cicero for consul, to whom, besides his Equestrian rank, they had especial objection as the leader of the Equites and the successful prosecutor of Verres.—*Quæ quoque modo = quæ et quomodo*. See cc. 21 and 47.

*Ad consulatum mandandum*.—Servius (ad *Aeneid*. viii. 506) cites these words to explain the phrase of Virgil, ‘Mandatque insignia Tarchon,’ etc.; but he seems to have overlooked that ‘mandari magistratus’ is common to both Sallust and Cicero. See Cicero, *Pro Muraen*. § 76: ‘Nam quod ais, nulla re allici hominum mentes oportere ad *magistratum mandandum*, nisi dignitate,’ etc.

*Pleraque nobilitas invidia astuabat*.—Cicero, in his speech *De Lege Agrar*. cont. Rullum ii. 1, thus alludes to the tenacity of the oligarchy in retaining the consulship for itself, and its resistance to himself and all ‘novi homines’: ‘Me perlongo intervallo prope memoriae temporum nostrorum primum hominem novum consulem fecistis: et eum locum, quem nobilitas præsidii firmatum, atque omni ratione obvallatum tenebat, me duce rescidistis: virtutique in posterum patere voluistis.’ And Appian, *Bell. Civ*. ii. 2, 3, speaks of the feelings of the nobles towards self-raised men, like Cicero.

*Homo novus*.—Plutarch (*Cato Maj*. i.) gives the following definition of ‘novi homines’: εἰώθασι δὲ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους δόξαν οὐκ ἔχοντας, ἀρχομένους δὲ γνορίζεσθαι δι’ αὐτῶν καινοὺς προσαγορεύειν ἀνθρώπους. And Sallust, in *Jugurtha*, thus describes the noble, their opposite, as ‘hominem veteris prosapiae ac multarum imaginum, quem, uno verbo, *nobilem* dicimus.’ Although Cicero (*Tusc. Quæst*. i. 16) speaks of his descent from the royal family of the Volscians and from its king Tullus, the ancestor of the Roman ‘gens Tullia,’ yet his *Orations* abound in passages proclaiming and exulting in his own ‘novitas.’ See *Orat*. ii. *De Leg. Agrar.*; *Pro Muræna*; *Pro Plancio*, etc. The name, and perhaps the distinction, survived centuries after the Commonwealth had expired, *e.g.* Tacit. *Annals* iii. 5: *Simul novi homines e municipiis et coloniis in senatum crebro assumpti*; *Eutropius*: ‘Ita respublica tum (i.e. A.D. 217) ab his quatuor imperatoribus tenebatur, Constantio et Maxentio filiis Augustis, Licinio et Maximino *novis hominibus*.’ Juvenal (*Sat.* viii. 237) describes Cicero as—

‘Hic novus Arpinas ignobilis et modo Romæ  
Municipalis eques.’

*Sed ubi periculum*.—‘But in the presence of danger, dislike and pride became matters of secondary importance.’

XXIV. *Consules declarantur M. Tullius Cicero et C. Antonius*.—Florus, iv. 1, remarks of this election: ‘Actum erat pulcherrimo imperio, nisi illa conjuratio in Ciceronem et Antonium consules incidisset, quorum alter industria rem patefecit, alter manu oppressit.’ Cicero was elected, as he tells us himself, by a vast majority of votes (*In Pisonem*, c. 1): ‘Me

cuncta Italia, me omnes ordines, me universa civitas, non prius tabella quam voce consulem declaravit.' Antonius was ahead of Catiline by the votes of a very few centuries. The year of this memorable consulship was rendered further remarkable (1) by the death in it of Rome's most formidable enemy, Mithridates; (2) by the birth of its destined sovereign, Augustus; (3) by the first capture of Jerusalem by Roman arms. Asconius (in Cic. *Orat. in Tog. Candid.*) thus characterizes the six competitors of Cicero at the Comitia, b.c. 62: 'Sex competitores in consulatus petitione Cicero habuit: duos patricios, P. Sulpitium Galbam et L. Sergium Catilinam; duos nobiles, C. Antonium, M. Antonii oratoris filium, et L. Cassium Longinum; duos qui tantum non primi ex familiis suis magistratum adepti erant, Q. Cornificium et C. Licinium Sacerdotem. Solus Cicero ex competitoribus equestri erat loco natus atque in petitione patrem amisit.' Asconius adds that Cornificius and Galba were 'sobrii sanctique viri,' 'sacerdos, nulla improbitate notus;' while Cassius, previous to the Catilianian conspiracy, was always supposed to be more fool than knave. As Cicero, owing to the general panic of the government in b.c. 63, was really the nominee of the oligarchy, it may be useful to sketch his political career before his consulship, and the measures by which he returned the favour of the Optimates during his consular year. (1) The part he had hitherto taken in politics had been in opposition to the Senate. In early youth he distinguished himself by a bold attack on Sulla's freedmen and partisans. As *Aedile* elect he had assailed the senatorial courts ('*judicia*') by his accusation of Verres. Lastly, he had offended Catulus and the leaders of the Senate by his support of the Manilian law. On becoming *Consul* he nearly reversed his political conduct, since he opposed the Marian party and its chief, Cæsar, by his speeches against the Agrarian Bill of Rullus, by his defence of C. Rabirius, and by his opposition to the proposal for restoring to their political rights the sons of those who had been on Sulla's proscription lists.

*Quod factum . . . concusserat.*—'A result which in the first instance gave a shock to the associates in the conspiracy; not that Catiline's rage was abated, nay it increased daily.' '*Concusserat*' seems to be used for the perf. '*concussit*' in this place.

*Mutuam.*—'Borrowed,' no interest being paid.

*Ad Manlium quendam.*—He was a person of little importance, as appears from the addition of '*quendam*'. Cicero in *Cat.* iii. calls him '*iste centurio*'. He was not present at the meeting described in chap. 17, owing to his low origin, or perhaps to his having been at Fæsulæ. He however took a principal part in the conspiracy.

*Ea tempestate.*—'At that crisis.'

*Mulieres . . . conflaverant.*—'Some few (married) women, too, he enrolled, who had at first barely sustained their extravagance by the prostitution of their persons, and who subsequently had amassed great debts when their time of life had put an end to their source of gain, but not to their expensive habits.' Married women, as appears from '*viros earum*', in the next sentence.

The part which women of the upper classes of Rome took in politics in nearly every age of the Republic deserves a passing comment. A conspiracy of matrons in the year b.c. 329 had decimated the Senate by poison, and Catiline might remember that a *Sergia* had been one of the principal criminals. According to the common story, the Licinian laws in b.c. 364 derived their first impelling motive from a female squabble;

and the orgies of the Bacchanals, wherein politics and licentiousness were mixed up together, were largely participated in by women of noble birth (see Livy vi. 34; viii. 18; xxxix. 8 foll.). Cornelia, the mother, and Sempronia, the sister of the Gracchi, took opposite sides in the revolutionary movement of their day (Plutarch, Gracchi, Tib. et Caius), and Terentia, Cicero's wife, is thus described by Plutarch (Cicero, c. xx.), as a dame much more disposed to claim a share in her husband's public business than to allow him any in their domestic concerns : 'Η δὲ Τερεντία, καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλως ἦν πραιτή τις οὐδὲ ἀτολμος τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ φιλότιμος γυνὴ, καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτὸς φύσιν δικιέρων, τῶν πολιτικῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα παρ' ἔκεινον φροντίδαν, η μεταδιδόνσα τῶν οἰκειακῶν ἐκείνηφ . . . παρώξυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. A few years after the Catilinarian conspiracy had exploded, a series of remarkable female intriguers, including the tragic names of Livia, the Agrippinas, Plancina, Soæmia, Julia Mamaea, etc., occupy in the pages of Roman history a space scarcely inferior to that filled by emperors, soldiers, or senators. And yet with such contempt were they regarded generally by the Romans that no example occurs of women, however powerful or however rich, being put on a proscription list.

*Servitia.*—i. e. 'servos urbanos,' abstract for concrete. See note on c. 14: 'Flagitiorum atque facinorum.' We shall find Catilina afterwards refusing to enlist slaves into his army (infra, c. 44). But it was one thing to avail himself of their services in the pillage or firing of Rome, another to invest them with the position of soldiers, and so run the chance of offending the veterans who had joined his standard.

XXV. *Sempronia.*—Tacitus (Annal. xiii. 45) gives a very similar description of the abilities and the vices of Poppaea Sabina, Nero's wife. To which of the many branches of the Sempronian house this lady belonged it is impossible to decide; but if her political feelings were guided by any motive higher than caprice, we may infer, since she took part with the revolutionary side, that she was of the Gracchine family. She may have been as profligate and unprincipled as Sallust affirms; yet, in accepting his statements, we must remember that Sempronia's very accomplishments were unpalatable to Roman prejudices. Cornelia might instruct her sons in constitutional maxims, and the Læliae give hints to the pleaders at the bar, but to sing or play on the lyre ('psallere') was the accomplishment of a Greek hetera, and to dance befitted a pantomimist, or a girl purchased in the slave-markets of Antioch or Alexandria. See the preface to the Lives of Cornelius Nepos for the distinction between what was esteemed becoming for Greeks and what for Romans to do or see. Sempronia was the wife of D. Junius Brutus, Consul b.c. 77. He however was not privy to the conspiracy (see infra, c. 40). One of her sons was M. Junius Brutus Albinus, *legatus* to Julius Cæsar in Gaul, and afterwards one of his assassins.

*Virilis audaciae.*—Comp. Velleius i. 1: 'Socia consiliorum Electra, virilis animi foemina'; Justin. xxvii. 2: 'Latronis more, totum fratri eripere cupiens, puer sceleratam virilemque sumit audaciam.' Akin to Shakespeare's expression, Winter's Tale, act ii. sc. 3, 'A mankind witch.' Zosimus says of Zenobia, *φρονήματι ἀνδρείῳ χρωμένη*.

*Docta.*—In this sentence 'docta' is followed by an ablative ('litteris'), an infinitive ('psallere,' 'saltare'), and an accusative ('multa alia').

*Elegantius quam necesse est probæ.*—Macrobius (Saturnal. ii. 10) furnishes the best commentary on these words: 'Ab illo ordinar tempore, quod

fuit optimis moribus inter duo bella Punica. Ingenui, quid dicam ingenui filii senatorum, in ludum saltatorium commeabant, et illuc, crotala gestantes, saltare discebat. Taceo quod matronæ etiam saltationem non dishonestam putabant; sed inter probas quoque earum erat saltandi cura, dummodo non curiosa usque ad artis perfectionem. Quid enim ait Sallustius: "Psallere, saltare elegantius quam necesse est probæ." Adeo et ipse Semproniam reprehendit, non quod saltare, sed quod optime scierit. Nobilium vero filios, et quod dictu nefas est, filias quoque virgines, inter studia seria numerasse saltandi meditationem testis est Scipio Africanus Æmilianus, in oratione contra legem judicariam Tib, Gracchi, etc. Horace (Od. iii. 6, v. 26), a few years later than Sallust, deplores the fashion of teaching Roman maidens the soft Ionian dances, 'Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos matura virgo, et fingitur artibus'; and Cicero stigmatizes saltation as befitting only drunkards. The Romans long associated dancing and singing, when exhibited for the entertainment of society, with histrionic, and consequently with paid performances. It was at a comparatively late period of the Commonwealth that these accomplishments were tolerated, and even then the Censors looked grave upon Senators, who, like Sir Christopher Hatton, Elizabeth's Lord Keeper, were proficients in dancing. The Romans, a coarse people, seldom adopted an art or amusement from the refined Greeks without carrying it to excess: and we read in Velleius (ii. 83) that Munatius Plancus dishonoured his Senatorian rank, his noble birth, and his nation, by dancing at the Alexandrian revels of Cleopatra in the character of the sea-god Glaucus, dressed in a suit of green scales, and with a fish's tail. 'Necesse' = better than a modest woman ('proba' = 'pudica': see Horace, Epod. xvii. 40, 'Tu proba, tu pudica') was called upon to do.

*Instrumenta luxuriæ.*—The accompaniments of fashion, which, abused, minister to vice. Justin xxx. 1, 'Luxuriæ se tradiderat,' had abandoned himself to pleasure.

*Sed ei cariora semper.*—Comp. Tacitus (Annal. xiii. 45): 'Huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere, præter honestum animum.'—*Decus* = good name. Comp. Jugurth. c. 4: 'Decus atque libertatem gratificari.'

*Fuit.*—'Fuit,' though preceded by 'decus atque pudicitia,' is correct. The singular verb with two nominative cases is warranted by a passage in Jugurtha (c. 18): 'Ea loca quæ proxime Carthaginem Numidia appellatur,' and by another in Ovid (Art. Amat. iii. 222): 'Quas geritis vestes sordida lana fuit.'

*Pecuniae an famæ minus parceret.*—'It was doubtful whether she were more indifferent to her money or her character.' Tacitus (Annal. iv.) says, 'Contemptu famæ contemniuntur virtutes;' and Seneca (Medea, act ii. sc. 2),—

'Cui fœminea nequitia, ad audendum omnia,  
Virile robur, nulla famæ memoria est.'

*Accensa.*—Sc. Sempronia. 'Accendi,' however, might be applied to passions as well as persons, e.g. Tacitus (Hist. i. 6), 'Accensis egestate longa cupiditatibus immoderatus;' and comp. Jugurth. c. 6, 'Accensa studia.'

*Peteret.*—'Courted;' as in Propertius, Eleg. iii. 11, v. 27:

'Cum te tam multi peterent, tu me una petisti.'

*Creditum abjuraverat.*—'Abjurare est rem creditam negare perjurio,' that is, when you are asked to repay money which has been lent, or to

give up money deposited, you deny the loan or the trust with an oath.  
Comp. Juvenal, Sat. xiii. 60 :—

‘Nunc, si depositum non infitietur amicus,  
Si reddat veterem cum tota ærugine follein,  
Prodigiosa fides,’ etc.

How such denial was regarded by the Romans of a better age is thus described by Cicero, in his speech for Roscius of Ameria (c. 38) : ‘In privatis rebus, si qui rem mandatam non modo malitiosius gessisset, sui quæstus aut commodi causa, verum etiam negligentius ; eum majores admisso de lecus existimabant. Itaque mandati constitutum est judicium non minus turpe, quam furti. . . . Ergo idcirco turpis hæc culpa est, quod duas res sanctissimas violat, amicitiam et fidem. Nam neque mandat quisquam fere, nisi amico ; neque credit, nisi ei, quem fidelem putat. Perditissimi est igitur hominis, simul et amicitiam dissolvere, et fallere eum, qui læsus non esset, nisi credidisset.’

*Abierat.*—She had departed from (*ab*) the right way, and gone headlong (*ierat præceps*).

*Haud absurdum.*—See note on ‘Absurdum,’ supra, c. 3 : ‘by no means contemptible.’ Comp. Tacitus (Annal. xiii. 45) : ‘Sermo comis, nec absurdum ingenium.’

*Posse versus facere.*—The meaning is clear, though the construction is obscure ; perhaps it may be thus explained: ‘Et inerat hujus ingenio, posse . . . movere, uti.’

*Jocum movere.*—‘To raise a laugh.’ Shakespeare’s Love’s Labour Lost, act v. sc. last, says, ‘to move laughter.’ Comp. Horace, Epist. 1 xix. 19 :—

‘O imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi sæpe  
Bilem, sæpe jocum vestri movere tumultus !’

*Modesto.*—Becoming an honest woman (*pudica*).—*Molli*, unbecoming one; befitting the contrary (*impudica*).—*Procaci*, becoming one depraved. Thus Cicero (Pro Cælio, c. xx.), says, ‘Ut non solum meretrix, sed etiam procax videretur.’

*Prorsus.*—‘In a word.’ For ‘inerat,’ in the singular, with two nominatives, see note on ‘Fuit,’ just preceding.—*Facetiae* = wit.—*Lepos* = grace. Dion. Cassius (fragm. 61) enumerates very similar charms and accomplishments in the Carthaginian princess Sophonisba: Καὶ παιδείᾳ πολλῆ, καὶ γραμμάτων, καὶ μουσικῆς ἡσκητῷ ἀστέλλε τε καὶ αἰμύλος ἦν, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν οὕτως ἐπαφρόδιτος, ὥστε καὶ ὁ φθεῖσα ἦ καὶ ἀκονθεῖσα μόνον πάντα τινὰ, καὶ τὸν πάνυ δισέρωτα, κατεργάσασθαι.

*XXVI. His rebus comparatis.*—Having thus made his preparations, Catiline, notwithstanding his previous repulses, still persevered in his suit, and declared himself a candidate for the consulship of the ensuing year, b.c. 62. The competitors were D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena, who were elected consuls, Servius Sulpicius Galba, and other men of note.

*Se ex voluntate Antonio usurum.*—‘And he hoped, if he were once Consul elect, that he should find in Antonius a compliant tool.’ For the actual Consuls were in great measure dependent on their successors for the salary, retinue, and military force with which they were sent out to their provinces ; and moreover Antonius and Catiline were on good terms before. Catiline also might have some expectations from Cæsar, who was Prætor elect for the following year. Had he been successful in his canvass, he

would have had, before entering on his consular duties in January, B.C. 62, six months for further preparation of his designs: since the elections took place in June or July, and the Consuls were inaugurated in the following January.

*Dolus aut astutiae.*—‘Contrivance and shrewd precaution,’ viz. his spies, like Curius and Fulvia, the police, and the whole body of the Equites, to whom, as the moneyed class, Catiline’s designs were peculiarly obnoxious. ‘Dolus’ is used in a good as well as a bad sense, and means ‘contrivance’ as well as ‘craft.’ Ulpian (Digest. iv. tit. 3, § 1) says, ‘*Veteres dolum etiam bonum dicebant, et pro solertia hoc nomen accipiebant, maxime si adversus hostem latronemve aliquis machinetur.*’ Comp. Festus, s. v.: ‘*Doli vocabulum nunc tantum in malis utimur, apud antiquos etiam in bonis rebus utebatur. Unde adhuc dicimus, “sine dolo malo,” nimirum quia solebat dici et bonus.*’ ‘Dolus’ is used in its bad sense supra, c. II: ‘*Huic quia bona artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendunt.*’ See also Gellius, Noct. Attic. xii. 9.

*Ad hoc.*—‘In addition.’

*Pactio provinciae.*—‘By his engagement to resign the province’ [of Macedonia]. Cisalpine Gaul and Macedonia were the two consular provinces for the year 63. Cicero, who at the beginning of his consulship had determined for the public good to conciliate his colleague (De Leg. Agraria ii. : ‘Etenim arbitrabar, quoniam eodem anno gerendi nobis essent magistratus, esse aliquam oportere inter nos bene administrandæ Reipubl. societatem’), surrendered to Antonius, in the first instance, Cisalpine Gaul, which was afterwards exchanged for Macedonia. See Orat. in Pisone, c. 2:—‘*Ego Antonium collegam, cupidum provinciæ, multa in rempublicam molientem, patientia atque obsequio meo mitigavi: ego provinciam Galliam, Senatus auctoritate, et exercitu et pecunia instructam et ornatam, quam cum Antonio communicavi, quod ita existimabam tempora Reipublicæ ferre, in concione deposui, reclamante populo Romano.*’ And again, in Philipp. xi., he reverts with complacency to his resignation of a provincial government. The sacrifice, however timely, cannot have been a painful one to Cicero. All his ambition, and most of his tastes and sympathies, centred in the Senate-house and the Forum; and one of the least happy years of his life was that in which, again in his own estimation an exile, he was compelled to leave the capital for his provincial government of Pisidia. Indeed the resolution he formed on his return from his Sicilian quæstorship, in B.C. 74 (Pro Plancio, c. 26), was his ruling principle through life.

*Neque petitio, neque insidiae.*—Cicero (Pro Murena xxiv.) describes Catiline’s *petitio*, his canvass, and his appearance at the opening of the Comitia for B.C. 62: ‘*Catilinam interea alacrem atque lætum, stipatum choro juventutis, vallatum indicibus atquesicariis, . . . circumfluentem colonorum Arretinorum et Fæsulanorum exercitu, quam turbam dissimillimo ex genere distinguebant homines perculsi Sullani temporis calamitate. Vultus erat ipsius plenus furoris, oculi sceleris, sermo arrogantiæ, sicut ei jam exploratus et domi conditus consulatus videretur.*’ He alludes to the ‘insidiae quas Consuli in Campo’ (the Campus Martius, where the election was held) ‘fecerat’ in his first speech against Catiline, c. v.

*Aspera fædaque evenerant.*—These are adjectives used as secondary predicates for adverbs. Comp. Jugurth. c. 38, ‘*Subdolus ejus augere amentiam;*’ ib. 53, ‘*Quietus aciem exornat;*’ ib. ‘*Cuncta prospera evenitura.*’

*XXVII. C. Manlius.*—One is left to conclude that Manlius had paid a visit to Rome, for we find him at Fæsulæ, before this time, c. 24. Manlius had served under Sulla, see Plutarch, Cicero c. 14: Οὗτοι γάρ ἡγέμονα Μάλλιον ἔχοντες, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιφανῶς ὑπὸ Σύλλᾳ στρατευσα-μένων.

*Cameritem.*—‘A native of Camerinum,’ a town bordering on Picenum, in Umbria.

*C. Julius.*—Nothing seems to be known of this man. The Julia gens had numerous clientes.

*Quem ubique*=‘quem et ubi’; as ‘Quid ubique opis aut spei,’ supra, c. 21; and ‘Quæ quoque modo,’ for ‘Quæ et quomodo,’ ib. c. 23.

*Opportuna.*—Of service, serviceable, suited to. The original meaning of ‘opportunus’ is, ‘handy for the haven’s mouth,’—‘obportun.’

*Parare incendia.*—Florus iv. 1: ‘Lentulus ad præstitutum a Catilina diem, urbe tota, viros, *faces*, tela dispositus.’

*Ipse cum telo esse.*—To carry weapons was forbidden by the XII. Tables, and by many later enactments. After the revolutionary excesses which commenced with the tribunate of the Gracchi, and more especially after the mutual outrages committed by Clodius and Milo, Cneius Pompeius, in his sole consulship, b.c. 52, brought in a fresh law interdicting the bearing of arms. Pompey’s law indeed was equally disregarded by both parties, since the Equites carried poniards in defence of Cicero, and the Consul himself ostentatiously displayed a cuirass beneath his robe. The conspirators who murdered Cæsar carried their stilettos in the case which protected the stylus. ‘Cum telo esse’ is the technical law term, e.g. Cicero Pro Milon. c. iv.: ‘Ipsa lex, esse cum telo, hominis occidendi causa, vetat.’ Id., In Catil. i. 6: ‘Qui nesciat stetisse in comitio *cum telo*.’—*Jubere*, sc., ‘alios cum telo esse.’—*Festinare*. ‘Day and night he was occupied; he denied himself sleep; he broke down neither with watching nor with toil.’

*Intempesta nocte.*—‘Nox intempesta’ is thus explained by Isidore, Orig. v.: ‘Intempestum est medium et inactuosum tempus, quando nihil agi potest, et omnia sopore quieta sunt. Nam tempus per se non intelligitur, nisi per actus humanos. Medium autem noctis actu caret. Ergo intempesta, inactuosa, quasi sine tempore, hoc est, sine actu per quem dignoscitur tempus.’ Shakespeare speaks of ‘the dead waste’ (tempus inane, inactuosum) ‘and middle of the night.’ Construe: ‘The hours of night unseasonable for action;’ and comp. Macrob. Saturnal. i. 3, and Servius, Æneid. iii. 587.

*Conjurationis principes*=populares conjurationis.—As this latter meeting was probably the more select, the change of word may be designed. Like the conspirators in a scarcely less wicked assembly, ‘principes’ here implies ‘the great lords, who in close recess and secret conclave sat.’

*M. Porcium Læcam.*—It appears from Cicero (In Catilin. i. 4) that the meeting was held in the house of M. Porcius Læca, in the street of the scythe-makers (‘inter falcarios’). Læca seems to have acted on this occasion as *viator* or summoner of the conspirators. The date of the meeting, 6–7 November, A.U. 691=11 January, b.c. 62 (allowing for the state of the unreformed calendar at the time), is determined from Cicero, Pro Sulla, c. xviii.: ‘Ea nocte quæ secuta est posteram diem Nonarum Novembribus.’

*Alios in alia loca.*—e.g. M. Cæparius was instructed to enlist and arm

the herdsmen and shepherds of Apulia and the Matese; P. Umbrenus to obtain the assistance of the Allobroges; L. Cassius to fire the city; Cethegus to arm the slaves of Rome; L. Calpurnius Bestia, Tribune elect, to rouse the city-populace (Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 3); Autronius to prepare for Catiline's reception at Fæsulæ (Cic. Pro Sulla xix.).

*Si prius Ciceronem oppressisset.*—Comp. Cicero, In Catilin.: ‘Confirasti, te ipsum jam esse exiturum: dixisti, paullulum tibi esse etiam tum moræ, quod ego viverem.’ Lucan (Pharsal. vii.) thus alludes to Catiline’s dread of the Consul’s vigilance:—

‘Romani maximus auctor,  
Tullius, eloquii, cuius sub jure togaque  
Pacificas sævus tremuit Catilina secures.’

**XXVIII. C. Cornelius, eques Romanus.**—Plutarch (Cicero, c. 16) says, Μάρκιον δὲ καὶ Κέθηγον ἐκέλευσε ξίφη λαβόντας ἀλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς θυρὰς ἔωθεν ὡς ἀσπασμένους τὸν Κικέρωνα. Appian (Bell. Civ. ii. 2) assigns the project of assassinating Cicero to Lentulus and Cethegus; while Cicero (Catilin. i.) says, ‘Reperti sunt duo equites.’ Cicero, indeed (Pro Sulla, c. xviii.), confirms Sallust’s story, and the historian is probably correct, having no apparent motive in this place to colour or suppress what he must have heard at or immediately after the time. Cicero’s ‘duo equites’ may easily have been ‘eques’ (C. Cornelius) and ‘senator’ (L. Vargunteius). The latter was selected on account of his great personal strength. He had been some time before accused of bribery and corruption, and was then defended by Q. Hortensius (Cicero, Pro Sulla, c. ii.).

*Ea nocte paullo post.*—i.e. ‘Paullo post medium noctem,’ or ‘noctem in tempestam,’ viz. ‘very early in the morning, at cock-crow;’ as Horace, I Sat. i. 10, ‘Sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.’ Clients and dependants who came to consult or to salute their lawyer or their patron often sat up all night in order to be in time for that purpose in the morning. See Columella, De Re Rustica, Prefat., ‘An honestius duxerim mercenarii salutatoris mendacissimum aucupium, circumvolitantis limina potentiorum, somnumque regis sui rumoribus inaugurantis;’ and Symmachus (Epis. viii.) says, ‘Nondum ante januam eminentium potestatum vigilem noctem salutator expertus es.’

*Janua prohibiti.*—‘Kept out of the house by the gate’ (κωλυθέντες εἰσελθεῖν, Plutarch, I.c.); as in Jugurtha, c. 21, ‘Numidas insequentes moenibus prohibuit,’ kept out of the city by the walls. Comp. Tacitus (Annals xv. 55), ‘In hortos Servilianos pergit, et cum foribus arceretur, magna et atrocia afferre dictitans.’

*In Etruria.*—The ‘fortis Etruria’ of Virgil had long before Sallust’s time exhibited all the symptoms of decay. It was in Etruria that Tiberius Gracchus, in b.c. 137, deplored the scanty population: it was on Etruria that Sulla’s hand lay heavy for its adherence to the Marian party in the civil war b.c. 89 foll. (Florus iii. 21; Cicero ad Attic. i. 19): and it was Etruria which, on Sulla’s death, recommenced war against the Senate, b.c. 78 (Sallust, Fragm. Hist. i. 14: ‘Etruria et omnes reliquæ belli arrectæ’). In this wasted and impoverished district Catiline found numerous adherents who had nothing to lose, but might gain something by a revolution at Rome.

*Ex Sullanis colonis.*—The Valerian Law specially empowered Sulla to found colonies, and he exercised this power without scruple. Appian says (Bell. Civ. i. 104) that he settled in the old Italian towns 120,000

discharged soldiers: the epitomist of Livy (89) makes the number more than 150,000. These were established on the confiscated lands in Samnium, Etruria, and Lucania. But these Cornelian veterans proved the worst possible of colonists. They knew nothing of agriculture, were too old or too proud to work; their pleasures were coarse, their habits profligate, and they soon squandered the spoils of Asia and Italy, and then pined for new wars to replenish their purses. In theory the military colonies of Rome were the outposts of the city, and in the better period of the Second Punic War were of essential service as garrisons and forts against Hannibal. But practically they were ruinous to agriculture and general tranquillity, and an active element in the depopulation of Italy in the Imperial times.

*XXIX. Ea.*—The frequent use of the pronoun *is* must strike all readers of Sallust. In this place the more common construction would have been ‘*quæ cum Ciceroni nuntiarentur*.’

*Ancipiū malo.*—‘The double danger,’ i.e. the plot against the city, and the formation of the camp in Etruria.

*Rem ad senatum referit.*—This motion was brought forward on the 21st of October, b.c. 63, since in his speech (Catilin. i. 2) Cicero says that the decree had been passed twenty days previously.

*Ne quid respublika, etc.*—‘The old theory of the constitution, as interpreted at least by the patricians, gave the chief magistrate power of life and death as soon as the Senate should decree the famous formula that the “Consuls see that the State suffer no harm,”’ Merivale, Hist. of Rome, vol. i. p. 84. This formulary gave the Consuls power to raise an army, to employ it, to pass extemporary measures for the safety of the commonwealth in whatsoever regarded the allies, the subjects, the police, etc.

*Maxima.*—This is a predicate: construe, ‘This is the greatest power which,’ etc.

*Nulli.*—If this reading be maintained, instead of substituting ‘*nullius*,’ it is better to take it with ‘*consuli*:’ but the sense seems to require ‘*nullius*,’ and it occupies an emphatic place in the sentence. The Consuls, prior to such a decree, which in fact invested them with dictatorial authority, had no power ‘*exercitum parare*,’ etc.

*Sine populi jussu.*—In the historian’s age this expression was an empty formulary retained in acts of the Senate, but in practice inoperative. The constitutional form was, ‘*populus jubet*,’ ‘*senatus censet*,’ ‘*plebs sciscit*.’ ‘*Populus*,’ in law-language, is the original Roman ‘*populus*,’ i.e. the patricians or burghers assembled in their Comitia Curiata (Cicero, Pro Flacc. c. 7): ‘*Quæ scissent plebes aut quæ populus jubaret*;’ id, Ad Attic. iv. 2; ‘*Cum pontifices decessint si neque populi jussu neque plebis scitu* is qui se dedicasse diceret,’ etc.

*XXX. Post paucos dies.*—i.e. A few days after the passing of the decree ‘*Ne quid Respublika*.’

*L. Sænius.*—He is probably the same person with the Consul *suffectus* of b.c. 30, and who introduced the *Senatūs-consultum* by which Augustus in the same year created a number of patricians, the *Lex Sænia* (Tacit. Ann. xi. 25; Dion. Cass. lii. 42). He was now Senator, i.e. had a seat in the Curia by virtue of having held one of the minor magistracies, a *Quæstor-* or *Tribuneship*.

*Litteras recitavit.*—Plutarch (Cicero, c. 15) assigns as a reason for this meeting of the Senate, which, it should be remembered, was held previous to the meeting in Porcius Læca’s house, that Crassus had re-

ceived several anonymous letters addressed to himself or his personal friends, intimating pressing danger, and urging on him immediate departure from Rome. Then Crassus, catching at the occasion for dispersing the suspicions of complicity with Catiline that adhered to him, put the letters in the Consul's hands, and on seeing their contents, Cicero determined to summon the Senate.

*Portenta atque signa.*—Signs and wonders, in Roman opinion, always accompanied or preceded every signal convulsion of the Senate.—*Id quod in tali re solet.* Cicero (In Catilin. iii. 8 foll.) describes the signs in the heavens, and other natural phenomena, which at this moment warned the Romans of their peril, and in his poem on his own consulate, cited in his Treatise on Divination (i. 11, § 12), recurs to them. The most fearful of them was accounted the striking of the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill:—

‘Nunc Pater altitonans stellanti nixus Olympo  
Ipse suos quandam tumulos ac templa petivit,  
Et Capitolinis injecit sedibus ignes.’

*Conventus fieri.*—Meetings were being held in various places.—*Arma portari.* Arms were being distributed from place to place. Capua was celebrated for its schools of gladiators: the herdsmen of Apulia were a large-limbed and a lawless race: and both Capua and Apulia had furnished troops to the foes of Rome in the Social War, b.c. 87, and recruited Spartacus's army with slaves and gladiators, b.c. 73.

*Senati.*—Like ‘tumulti,’ c. 59, is the old form of the genitive.

*Q. Marcius Rex.*—He was Consul with L. Cæcilius Metellus in b.c. 68, and afterwards, as Proconsul of Cilicia, conducted the war with the Cilician pirates. He was married to a sister of P. Clodius, and is mentioned by Cicero (Ad Attic. i. 11, § 10), on the occasion of his death in b.c. 61, as not leaving to his brother-in-law the inheritance which he had expected.

*Q. Metellus Creticus* was Consul with L. Hortensius in b.c. 69. His agnomen, ‘Creticus,’ was bestowed for his conquest of Crete, in his proconsulship of b.c. 68–6. Comp. Cicero (In Catilin. ii.): ‘Quem ego [Q. Metellum] prospiciens hoc, in agrum Gallicanum Picenumque præmisi.’—*Ad urbem*= outside the city at the gates. Comp. Cicero (Ad Attic. ix. 11): ‘Uti legi tuas litteras, quas a Furnio nostro acceperam, quibus mecum agebas, ut ad urbem essem.’ Asconius in Ciceronis Verrin. Orat. i. 15, gives the following explanation of the phrase ‘ad urbem’:—‘Sic dici solet de iis qui cum potestate provinciali aut nuper e provincia revertissent, aut nondum in provinciam profecti essent.’ Military commanders, returning from their provinces with victory, and desirous of the honour of a triumph, remained outside the city, until the Senate accorded to them that distinction. The form of their petition for a triumph was a letter written on waxen tablets and bound with bay-leaves. Audience was usually given them in the temple of Bellona or of Apollo.

*Calumnia paucorum.*—‘The frivolous and vexatious opposition of a few of the oligarchy.’ It is not clear what section of the Optimates is here glanced at by Sallust. Both Metellus and Marcius had been superseded in their commands by Cn. Pompeius, the one in Crete, the other in the war with the pirates: and both thought themselves ill-used by him. Pompeius, on the other hand, in virtue of his appointment under the Manilian Law to the supreme command of the Mediterranean, may have regarded each of these Proconsuls as his legates, and been indisposed to

conceding him a triumph. In b.c. 167, Paullus Aemilius was in somewhat similar circumstances. 'Obtrectatio carpsit,' says Livy, xlvi. 35 : and Cæsar, according to Lucan (Pharsal. i. 286), in b.c. 49 :—

'Nunc neque te longi remeantem pompa triumphi  
Excipit, aut sacras poscunt Capitolia laurus ;  
*Livor* edax tibi cuncta negat.'

*Q. Pompeius Rufus.*—He was Praetor A.U.C. 691, in the consulship of Cicero, who praises his conduct in that office. Subsequently he obtained the proconsular government of Africa.

*Q. Metellus Celer.*—He belonged to the Gens Caecilia. He had been one of Pompey's legates, and was newly arrived from the East.

*Sestertia centum.*—Not quite £900, the sestertius being equal to 2d. 3f. Sestertium = 1000 sestertii = £8. 17s. 1d.

*Minores magistratus.*—All those elected by the Comitia Tributa, such as ædiles, quæstors, triumviri.

*XXXI. Immutata.*—'Changed.' There is no negative contained in this past participle, because there is a verb 'immuto' = muto. The participle in -bilis however does not follow this rule. 'Immutabilis' is equivalent to 'non mutabilis.' So, impendo, impensus = pendo, pensus ; but 'impensibilis' = non pensibilis.

*Civitas.*—Abstract for concrete. The State, composed of 'cives.'—*Facies*, 'the outward aspect.'

*Lascivia.*—'Gaiety.' Not here in a bad sense. So 'lascivi hædi,' sportive kids : 'lasciva puella,' a merry damsel.

*Diurna.*—Yet only twenty years had elapsed since Sulla's proscriptions (b.c. 82-63). The period of calm may however be described as *long*, if we take into account the tumults which preceded the former of these years, and those which were soon to follow the latter ; e.g. the tribunate of Clodius, and the triumvirate of b.c. 43.

*Quibus . . . incesserat.*—For the dative comp. Tac. Ann. iii. 36 : 'Incedebat enim deterrimo cuique licentia.' Cicero uses the same construction with 'invaserat' (Ad Diversos vi. 12) : 'Mirus invaserat furor improbis.'

—*Merivale.*

*Lege Plautia.*—Plutarch makes no mention of this fact. This law was brought forward and carried by M. Plautius Sylvanus, as Tribune, b.c. 78. It was directed against public violence ('de vi') with especial reference to wearing arms. Comp. c. 27 : 'Ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere (cum telo esse).'

*L. Paullo.*—L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, brother of the Triumvir Lepidus.

*Sui expurgandi.*—Ως ἀπολογησαμένον (Plutarch, Cic. xvi.). So Cæsar (B.G. iv. 13) : 'In castra venerunt sui purgandi causa.' Lucret. v. 1224 : 'Pænorum solvendi tempus.'

*Jurgio.*—'On a paltry charge.'

*Luculentam . . . reipublicæ.*—'A brilliant speech, and one that did the State good service.'

*Quam postea scriptam edidit.*—Cicero published the substance of what he had spoken in the Senate or the Forum on the theme of the Conspiracy. It is probable that all his speeches which have come down to us were expanded and amended after their delivery ; and it is certain that some of the finest efforts of his eloquence were never spoken at all. Thus, for example, all the Verrine orations, after the first, introductory to the prosecu-

tion, were published, but not spoken; the second and greatest of the Philippic orations was from the first circulated as a pamphlet. The speech in defence of Milo, as we read it, was not delivered, Cicero having been dismayed at the threatening aspect of the forum at Milo's trial, and in fact having broken down. Yet as the ancient orators committed previously to memory the larger portions of what they actually spoke, these written orations of Cicero's differ very little from what he would have spoken. In the absence of printing, a published speech, pamphlet, or manifesto must have had a very limited circulation, if compared with the circulation of a modern newspaper or book; yet the supply may have equalled the demand, for reading, at Rome, was the accomplishment of a very limited number of persons, and hundreds or even thousands of slaves were employed as copyists. Nor was short-hand writing unknown. Under the Empire, at least, the words of public speakers, however rapid their enunciation, were taken down fully and correctly (Manil. Astron. iv. 197; Martial, Epigr. xiv. 202; Seneca, Epist. 90); and if, as has been inferred from a notice in the Eusebian Chronicle, in combination with some remarks in the *Origines* of Isidorus (i. 21), Tiro, the freedman, pupil, and friend of Cicero, were the inventor of the art of reporting, by means of such abbreviations as from him are termed *Notæ Tironianæ*, it is far from impossible that we possess a very authentic record of the spoken as well as the written words of M. Tullius. On the present occasion we know that Cicero employed Senators in taking notes on the proceedings. But this was a special device for the occasion, and designed to bear Cicero himself harmless in the extraordinary and perhaps illegal course he was pursuing. By thus 'booking' the words of those who, like Cæsar, opposed, or, like Cato, supported him, he hoped to prevent the one from hereafter misrepresenting him, the other from recanting. Moreover, it was more than usually important to him to preserve the minutes of such confessions as were extracted from the conspirators themselves. This body of notes was afterwards copied (the originals were deposited in senatorial archives) and put by Cicero into the hands of his friend L. Lucceius, who had undertaken to write in Greek, for the information of the eastern hemisphere of the empire, the history of the consulship of b.c. 63.

*Ut erat paratus.*—Comp. Jugurtha, c. 7: 'Nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio.'

*Ne quid de se temere crederent.*—The point of Catiline's defence on this occasion, as stated by Sallust, bears a close resemblance to the famous retort of M. Æmilius Scaurus in b.c. 90, when he was accused by a Tribune of the Commons, Q. Varius, of having excited the Italian allies to revolt: 'Q. Varius Hispanus (=inquilinus) M. Scaurus principem senatus socios in arma ait convocasse: M. Scaurus princeps senatus negat; testis nemo est; utri vos, Quirites, convenit credere.'

*Inquilinus civis.*—Ben Jonson, in his drama entitled 'Catiline's Conspiracy,' translates this, naïvely, 'only a lodger;' but Cicero was already the master of a splendid 'domus,' answering to the meaning implied in the French word 'hôtel'; and though born at Arpinum, was actually a *civis Romanus*. Appian (Bell. Civ. ii. 3) mentions this taunt of Catiline's: Κατιλίνας δ' αὐτὸν ἐσθριν τῶν ἐλομένων ἐπέσκωπτεν, ἐσ μὲν ἀγνωσίαν γένους, καὶ νῦν ὀνομάζων· καλοῦσι δ' οὕτω τὸν ἄφ' ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν προγόνων γνωρίμους· ἐσ δὲ ξενίαν τῆς πόλεως ἰγκούλινον, φρήματι καλοῦσι τὸν ἐνοικοῦντας ἐσ ἀλλοτρίας οἰκίας.—*Inquilinus*, according to Festus, s.v. means 'qui eandem colit focum' = 'incola,'

and is used by Martial in the sense of a 'lodger under the same roof with another' (Epigram i. 87, 12) : 'Vicinus Novio, vel inquilinus Sit, si quis Novium videre non vult.' Cicero (De Leg. ii. 2) refers with pride to his birthplace and his adopted city: 'Ego mehercule et Catoni et omnibus municipibus duas esse censeo patrias: unam naturae, alteram civitatis: ut ille Cato, cum esset Tusculi natus, in populi Romani civitatem susceptus est: ita, cum ortu Tusculanus esset, civitate Romanus, habuit alteram loci patriam, alteram juris. Sed necesse est caritate eam præstare, qua reipublicæ nomen universæ civitatis est: pro qua mori, et cui nos totos dedere, et in qua nostra omnia ponere et quasi consecrare debemus. Dulcis autem non multo secus est ea quæ genuit, quam illa quæ exceptit.'

*Ad hoc maledicta.*—Plutarch (Cic. c. 16) gives the following account of Catiline's vituperations: 'Αρξάμενος δὲ λέγειν ἔθορυβεῖτο καὶ τέλος ἀναστὰς ὁ Κικέρων προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαλλαττέσθαι· δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μὲν λόγοις, ἐκείνου δὲ ὅπλοις πολιτευομένου μέσον εἶναι τὸ τείχος. And both from Plutarch (*l.c.*) and Cicero (Catil. i. 71) we learn that upon Catiline's entrance into the Curia, the Senators rose from their seats and left a space void for the incendiary.

*Tum ille furibundus.*—From Cicero (Pro Muræn. c. xxv.) it seems that these words were addressed on some former occasion, *i.e.* in November or December, to Cato: 'Cum . . . Catoni . . . judicium minitanti ac denuntianti respondisset si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua, sed ruina restincturum.' Plutarch does not mention the speech at all.—*Circumventus*, like a wild beast at bay, surrounded by the hunters, and driven to the edge of a precipice down which he must spring,—'præceps agror.'

**XXXII. Quod . . . procedebant.**—We must either suppose 'consuli' to be the *datus modi*, in this place and below, 'insidias consuli matucent,' or must supply 'paratæ' and 'paratas.' The former seems the most probable construction, though it is a very forced use of the *datus modi*.

*Nocte intempesta.*—Comp. note on c. 27. This was the night after the delivery of the first, and the night before the delivery of the second, oration against Catiline.

*Cum paucis.*—Plutarch says, 'three hundred.'

*Propediem.*—'On the approaching day,' the day that was close at hand.

Comp. Hor. Od. iv. 6, 3: 'Trojæ prope victor . . . Achillies.'

*Mandatis.*—'With instructions,' says Mr. Merivale, on this passage. The command refers to the person charged to deliver the message, not to the person to whom the message is to be delivered.

**XXXIII. Plerique . . . sumus.**—Observe the double construction. Comp. Jug. 84: 'Plerosque militiæ, paucos fama cognitos.'

*Lege uti.*—'To take the benefit of the law.' There were several laws, from the Twelve Tables downwards, tending to limit the rate of interest; with what success may be seen from Horace (i. 2, 14): 'Quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat,'—sixty per cent. per annum. But as long as money is wanted, it will be borrowed; and in proportion to the need of the borrower will the interest be high or low. The long arm of the law is in such cases almost powerless.

*Miserti.*—Feeling pity. 'Miserari,' to express pity.

*Argentum ære solutum.*—This arrangement was made by the Consul of the year 668, L. Valerius Flaccus. The silver sesterce (sesterius) was paid with the *as*. Vell. (ii. 23) says of this Consul that he was 'turpisimæ legis auctor, qua creditoribus quadrantum solvi jussérat.' Pliny

(xxxiii. 13) says: 'Hannibale urgente, Q. Fabio Maximo dictatore, asses unciales facti, placuitque denarium sedecim assibus permutari, sestertium quaternis.' By this means the sestertius became equal to four asses, in the place of the originally two and a half. For the meaning of 'sestertius' is, two whole asses, and the third a half as.

*Sæpe ipsa plebes . . . secessit.*—Five secessions of the Commons are recorded by the historians of Rome, viz.: 1. Fifteen years after the expulsion of the Tarquins, 'secessio trans Anienem amnem' (Liv. ii. 22); 'Crustumina' (Varro, L.L. v. 81), by which they obtained the inviolable magistracy, the Tribuneship, b.c. 492. 2. Secession of the Commons and the soldiers to Mount Aventine and thence to the Sacred Hill, immediately before the deposition of the Decemvirs, b.c. 447. 3. Secession to the Janiculum previous to the passing of the Licinian Laws, b.c. 364. 4. Secession of the Commons and the Campanian army at the close of the First Samnite War, b.c. 338. 5. Secession to the Janiculum, to enforce the confirmation of the Hortensian Law, b.c. 292. In these two centuries the Plebs Romana wrested from the Patrician Order all its constitutional privileges. Sallust, who saw an entirely different order of things, the ὄχλος δημοτικὸς of the last century of the Republic, speaks of the arrogance of the Plebs ('dominandi studium'), but this is unjust; they claimed only to share in the government, as they fought the battles and paid the taxes of the Commonwealth.

*Nemo bonus.*—'No one worthy of the name of man parts with (*amittit*) liberty but with life.' Comp. Jugurth. c. 14: 'Ærumnas cum anima simul amisisti.'

*Prætoris (urbani).*—He decided all civil suits. He had great opportunities for injustice, the more so as the Prætor did not always consider himself tied down to existing laws, but on entering his office stated the principles on which he intended to act.

**XXXIV. *Discedant.***—The imperative mood, 'let them lay down their arms.'

*Eo.*—Agreeing with the whole expression, 'senatum populumque Romanum.'

*Massiliam in exilium proficiisci.*—'Etenim credo Manlius, iste centurio qui in agro Fæsulano castra posuit, bellum populo Romano, suo nomine, indixit, et illa castra nunc non Catilinam expectant, et ille, ejectus in exilium, se Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in haec castra conferet.'—*Massilia* (Marseilles), a city allied with Rome; more particularly with the Senate and the ruling party at Rome. His pretended choice, then, of this place was intended to impress the Senate with an idea that he was not really a foe to that body and the ruling party generally, but an ill-used man. Massilia was a favourite place of resort for Roman political exiles or offenders. There Verres was at this time enjoying or abusing the wealth he had wrung from Sicily; thither also Milo was to go in b.c. 52, and to enjoy its delicious mullets; and there also, according to one report, Pontius Pilate laid hands on himself, after A.D. 37.

**XXXV. *Grata.***—'Gratam' was proposed by Corte, and is perhaps the better reading.

*Defensionem.*—'Defensio' = judicial defence; 'satisfactio' = private explanation. 'Satisfacere,' says Casaubon (Ad Suetonii Claudium, c. xxxviii.), 'est, vultu gestuque ad humilitatem composito, delicti veniam petere.' Vide Martial, Epigram v. 150:—

"Nil in te scripsi, Bithynice; credere non vis,  
Et jurare jubes: malo *satisfacere*;”

i.e. ‘You require a public apology; I would much rather give a private explanation.’

*Novo consilio*.—i.e. ‘Publicam miserorum causam suscepit.’ Catiline aspired to be thought the single patron of the poor and the injured.

*Pro mea consuetudine*.—Cicero, but with better grounds for his profession, claims (Verrin. iv.) a similar privilege: ‘Præcipue quod in his artibus pro parte mea vensor, æquitate, industria, temperantia, *defensione miserorum*, etc.

*Mediusfidius*.—Νῆ Δία πίστιον, Dionys. Hal. The intensive is sometimes ‘dius’ or ‘deus, fidius.’ Comp. Varro ap. Noni. p. 494, § 30, ‘Qui per deum Fidium jurare vult,’ and Plautus, Asin. act i. sc. 1, v. 8. ‘Deus Fidius’ seems the older form. Cicero, Sallust, Pliny, and Quintilian employ ‘me-dius-fidius.’

*Quam veram licet cognoscas*.—‘The truth of which you may ascertain if you please.’ Servius, quoting this passage (Æneid. iv. 204), reads ‘re-cognoscas;’ and Cicero (Catilin. i. 3) says, ‘Luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia, quæ etiam mecum licet recognoscas.’

*Statum dignitatis non obtinebam*.—He could not keep up the position he had held: he felt that his inability to sue for the consulship, by reason of his impeachment, was a loss or diminution of the position he already held. Cæsar (Bell. Civ. i. 4) pleads a similar cause for taking up arms: ‘Ut existimationem dignitatemque suam ab inimicis defendant (sc. milites ejus).’ ‘Status’ means, the position held by a person; ‘gradus,’ the step to which he is aspiring; ‘obtinere’ means, ‘to have and to hold,’ not ‘to get.’ It was on the motion of Volcatius Tullus that Catiline was prohibited from standing for the consulship. See c. 18, supra.

*Honore honestatos*.—Comp. Plaut. Captiv. act ii. sc. 2, v. 106: ‘Cum me tanto honore honestas.’

*Alienatum*.—‘Cast out,’ e.g. Cicero, Philipp. ii. 15, ‘Qui a senatu ordinem conjunctissimum ab alienarunt.’

*Vim mihi parari*.—Catiline seems to have made sure that he would be outlawed by the Senate,—‘ab aqua et igni interdictus.’ The sentence indeed had not been passed.

*XXXVI. In agro Arretino*.—There is another reading, ‘Reatino,’ but Arretium is the more probable, as it was almost on the direct road from Rome to Fæsulae.

*Cum fascibus*.—Comp. Plut. Cicero, c. 16, who adds that there were at this time in the Manlian camp 20,000 men. Comp. Cat. ii. 6. The object of assuming the ‘fascæ’ was to show that he considered his defeat in the matter of the consulship to have been brought about by unfair means.

*Multo maxime*.—‘Multo,’ with the superlative adjectival or adverbial, occurs frequently in the best Latin authors; e.g. Plautus, Amphit. act ii. sc. 2, v. 150: ‘Aut pol hæc præstigatrix mulier multo maxima est;’ id., Stich. act i. sc. 2, v. 66: ‘Quæ tibi mulier videtur multo sapientissima.’ Gellius, N. A. iii. 11: ‘De patria quoque Homeris multo maxime dissensum est.’ Comp. Plin. N. H. xvii. 1; xxviii. 5.

*Ad occasum ab ortu solis*.—Comp. Lucan, Pharsal. vii. 423:—

‘Haud multum terræ spatium restabat Eoæ,  
Ut tibi nox, tibi tota dies, tibi curreret aether,  
Omniaque errantes stellæ Romana viderent.’

*Otium* = pax, ἡσυχία.—So Cicero (Ad Fam. xii. 1) : ‘Ego quidem et urbi et otio diffiderem urbano.’

*Duobus senati decretis*.—Ablative absolute. For ‘senati’ see note on c. 30.

*Tabes* = pestilentia.—Comp. supra, c. 10, and Fragm. Hist. iv. : ‘Qui quidem mos, ut tabes, in urbem coierit.’ This sentence is nearly repeated in the Jugurtha, c. 32: ‘Tanta vis avaritiae in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaserat.’

XXXVII. *Id adeo*.—Comp. Jug. c. 110 : ‘Id adeo experiri licet;’ c. 111, ‘Id adeo in promptu esse.’

*Turba atque seditionibus*.—‘In disturbances and seditions.’

*Ea vero*.—‘That indeed,’ emphatic.

*Præceps ierat*.—‘Had gone to ruin.’ Comp. Jug. c. 31.

*Præstabant*.—Used in a bad sense; a very rare usage, as Gerlach observes.

*Sentinam*.—‘A sink,’ where the bilge-water settles; the hold of a ship. Comp. Cat. i. 5; Cic. ad Att. i. 19.

*Gregariis militibus*.—‘From the ranks,’ ‘e grege,’ common soldiers.

*Privatis atque publicis largitionibus*.—From patrons to clients, or from candidates or existing magistrates to the people.

*Eos*.—Sc. ‘juvenes,’ understood in ‘juventus;’ so in c. 2, ‘regnum’ is understood in ‘reges;’ and in c. 5, ‘cives’ in ‘civitatis;’ though we may make ‘eos’ agree with ‘mores’ in the last passage.

*Reipublicæ . . . consuluisse*.—‘No better for themselves than for the Republic;’ equally ill for both. Comp. for the use of ‘juxta,’ Cat. c. 2; c. 61; Jug. c. 85; c. 88; Tac. Annal. i. 6.

*Jus libertatis imminutum*.—Treated as if they were neither citizens nor freedmen, *i.e.* deprived of the privileges of the Constitution. The families of the proscribed were incapacitated for holding public offices by a Lex Cornelia, A.U. 673. The rehabilitation of these persons was agitated for many years, defeated by Cicero in his consulship, and at last effected by Cæsar as Dictator.—*Merivale*.

XXXVIII. *Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso*.—In A.U. 684, Sulla had deprived the Tribunes of the right of proposing measures in the Comitia Tributa, forbade them to exercise their veto upon the legislation of the Senate, and restricted their protectoral duties to the relief of individuals in a few trifling cases of civil or criminal process. The tribunitian office was thus cut down to even less than its original importance, its holders were declared incapable of succeeding to any of the higher magistracies of the State, and ambitious or even respectable men disdained to sue for it (see Liv. Epit. lxxxix.). Its restoration by Pompeius and Crassus was due as much to their selfish as to their patriotic feelings; they desired to curb the Senate as much as to benefit the Commons. According to Appian (Bell. Civ. ii. 29), Pompeius lived to regret bitterly his restoration of the tribunate to its proper functions. Cicero (De Legib. iii.) discusses at length the policy or impolicy of Pompey’s bill, and evidently leans to its condemnation; but his book ‘De Legibus’ was composed after the famous tribunate of P. Clodius, and long after the Tribune Metellus Nepos had thrown a shadow on his consular laurels.

*Summam potestatem*.—Sallust means of course the tribunitian power: ‘Quam populus Romanus, ut ipse plurimum posset, valere plus quam se voluit’ (Seneca, Excerpt. lib. iii. declam. 9). He may, however, have been thinking of the Lex Villia Annalis, which defined the ages at which

the magistracies of Rome, greater and lesser, could be held. The tribuneship of the Commons was not included in this law, and consequently one who could not be *Ædile* might be Tribune. And so Sallust may have used ‘summam’ to imply that it was the highest office to which an *adolescens*, i.e. a man under thirty-seven, could aspire.

*Quibus ætas animusque ferox erat.*—In a wiser spirit, Thucydides recommends the blending, in civil affairs, of youthful energy with the discretion of age: Καὶ μὴ δῆμᾶς ἡ Νικίου ἀπραγμοσύνη καὶ διάστασις τοῖς νέοις ἐσ τὸν πρεσβυτέρους ἀποστρέψῃ· τῷ δὲ εἰωθτὶ κόσμῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἅμα νέοι γεραιτέροις βουλεύοντες, ἐσ τάδε γραν αὐτὰ, καὶ νῦν τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ πειράσθε προσαγαγεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ νομίσατε νεότητα μὲν καὶ γῆρας ἀνευ ἀλλήλων μηδὲν δύνασθαι (vi. 18).

*Post illa tempora.*—This must mean the breaking out of the Civil War in B.C. 87: and ‘*utrique*,’ at the close of the chapter, refer to Sulla and Marius; for the characteristics of the opposing parties, as sketched by the historian, apply to no other crisis of the Commonwealth.

XXXIX. *Ad bellum maritimum.*—This was the war carried on against the pirates of Cilicia, whom Pompeius put down with promptness, partly by conquest, partly by colonization. The command was given him in consequence of the Lex Gabinia, A.U. 687. Pompeius concluded the Mithridatic War, carried on successively by Sulla and Lucullus, the latter of whom was the real conqueror of Mithridates. The Manilian Law gave Pompeius this command, A.U. 688. Yet it is not easy to reconcile Sallust with the general history of this period, since both these commands in the Piratic and the Mithridatic War, were conferred on Pompeius by the people, in opposition to the desire of the oligarchy, many of whom coveted the management of these wars for themselves, and most of whom scorned Pompeius as a *parvenu*, and feared him as the favourite of the army. Neither does any writer, except Sallust, mention any remarkable confirmation or development of oligarchical power about the year A.U. 685–6. Had there been such, Pompeius in the previous year would scarcely have been able to restore the tribuneship of the Commons. Like a true pamphleteer, Sallust colours his facts to suit his purpose, and we are reading in this narrative the pamphlet of a Cæsarian.

*Hi... tractarent.*—‘Hi,’ viz. pauci.—*Ipsi innoxii*, ‘out of harm’s way.’ They could not suffer from the *judicia*. ‘*Ipsi*’ refers to ‘pauci’ also.—*Ceteri*, all such as were out of office, and had no provinces, etc., at their command.—*In magistratu*, ‘in their tribuneships;’ unless ‘magistratus’ refers to the offices of *quaestors*, *ædiles*, *triumvirs*, etc., who were elected by the *Comitia Tributa*.—Gerlach has adopted the emendation of ‘*quo*’ for ‘*qui*,’ proposed by Kritz.

*Qui plus posset... extorqueret.*—In these words Sallust appears to me to allude, with little reserve, to Cæsar; and the general sense of the entire passage, from ‘*quodsi primo prælio*’ to ‘*extorqueret*,’ to be: ‘Had Catiline come off victor in the first engagement, or the battle been a drawn one, the consequences would have been, either way, ruinous to the State: yet neither party (the Senate or Catiline) could have enjoyed its triumph long, for over them, exhausted by the effort, a master impended, who would wrest from both freedom and power.’

*Tamen.*—In fact, moreover.

*Retractum ex itinere.*—Comp. Tacit. Annal. iv. 29: ‘*Retractus Ravenna*,’ arrested and brought back in custody.

*Parens.*—The ‘*patria potestas*,’ among the Romans, originally gave a

father the power of life and death over his son as a member of his 'familia'; but this right or abuse had long fallen into desuetude, and the present instance must be regarded as justified by the extraordinary circumstances of the time. It was a condition of that power that the son should be born in lawful marriage (*connubium*). In this case, Fulvius, according to Valerius Maximus (v. 8, § 5), justified the sentence by the plea, 'Non se Catilinæ illum adversus patriam, sed patriæ adversus Catilinam genuisse.' The anecdote shows that he considered the paternal verdict as an unusual stretch of power: 'Licuit, donec civilis belli rabies præteriret, inclusum arcere: verum illud cauti patris narraretur opus, hoc severi refertur.'

*Quoscumque moribus aut fortuna, etc.*—Comp. Tacitus, Annal. iii. 40: 'Quibus ob egestatem aut metum ex flagitiis maxima peccandi necessitudo.'

*Quod modo bello usui foret.*—'Provided only they could fight.'

XL. *Igitur.*—And to this end, that he might strengthen his cause with able-bodied and disaffected persons, he commissions an obscure fellow ('cuidam'), one Umbrenus. He was of libertine condition, as appears from Cicero (*Catilinar.* iii. 6): 'P. Umbrenum, libertinum hominem, a quo primum Gallos ad Gabinium perductos esse constabat.' Umbrenus was apparently a common name, since it is used by Horace, Sat. ii. 2, 133, to illustrate a moral commonplace:—

‘Nunc ager *Umbreni* sub nomine, nuper Ofelli  
Dictus erat.’

*Allobrogum.*—Cicero (*I.c.*) says of the Allobroges: 'Quam gentem unam restare, quæ populo Romano bellum facere et posse et non nolle videretur.' The crime of soliciting the aid of the Gauls was aggravated by the terror which their name inspired at Rome in all periods of its history until the final subjugation of Gaul by Cæsar. Comp. Jug. c. 114: 'Illique et inde usque ad nostram memoriam, Romani sic habuere: alia omnia virtuti suæ prona esse; cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria, certare.' The Allobroges inhabited Narbonnese Gaul, between the Rhone and the Isère. They are first mentioned in history as having joined Hannibal, b.c. 218, in his invasion of Italy (*Liv. xxi.* 31). In b.c. 121, Q. Fabius Maximus defeated and partially subdued them, and from his victory derived the cognomen 'Allobrogicus.' Under Roman dominion they became an agricultural people, as Strabo describes them (p. 185), and lived for the most part in towns and villages, their capital being Vienna, *Vienne*, in the department of *Isère*, on the little river *Gère*, which flows through that city to the Rhone. 'Ornatissima colonia valentissimaque *Viennensium*' (Speech of the Emperor Claudius. See Lipsius, *Excursus ad Tac. xi. Annal.*). The Viennese Allobroges, under the Emperors, contributed members to the Roman Senate, and studied the fashionable literature of the capital. Martial, Epigram vii. 88:—

‘Fertur habere meos, si vera est fama, libellos,  
Inter delicias pulchra Vienna suas.’

And it was a powerful rival of the great city of Lugdunum (Lyons). (Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 65–6). But the Romans long retained their suspicion of the loyalty, and their dread of the valour, of the Allobroges, and these feelings are recorded by comparatively recent writers, e.g. Seneca (*De Benefic.* v. 16): 'Ingratus Catilina: parum est illi capere patriam, nisi averterit, nisi

Allobrogum in illam cohortes immiserit, et trans Alpes accitus hostis, vetera et ingenita odia satiaverit, ac diu debitas inferias Gallicis bustis duces Romani persolverint.' Florus (iv. 1) : 'Nec civili conspiratione contentus (Lentulus) legatis Allobrogum, qui tum forte aderant, in arma sollicitatis; iissetque ultra Alpes furor nisi,' etc.

*Publice privatimque.*—'Publice,' because of the tribute and taxes: 'Privatum,' on account of the loans they had obtained from moneyed men at Rome to enable them to discharge their public debts to the *Ærarium*. The insolvency of the provincials, and their consequent disaffection to Rome, very commonly proceeded from their debts to individuals; *e.g.*, Britain at one time was nearly driven into rebellion by its obligations to the philosophical usurer L. Annæus Seneca.

*Negotiatorus.*—He had done business as a negotiator (generally, a money-lender), and therefore *resided* among the chiefs of the Allobroges ('principes civitatum'), and so, 'notus erat, atque eos noverat.' The Roman negotiatores penetrated beyond the reach of Roman armies. They dealt with the barbarians of the North, as the Spaniards and early voyagers dealt with the Indians, exchanging trifles and toys, and often the more important articles of weapons and hardware, for the gold and peltry of Gaul, the amber and agate of the Baltic. Cæsar (Bell. Gall. i. 1) speaks of the 'mercatores,' or chapmen, as the pioneers of civilization. The wrath of the oppressed provincials generally fell, in the first instance, on their creditors, the 'negotiatores'; *e.g.*, Vell. ii. 110: 'Oppressi cives Romani, trucidati negotiatores,' in Bato's Pannonian Revolt, A.D. 6.

*Legatos in foro consperxit.*—It adds to the picturesqueness of the scene to remember that the Gauls in Sallust's time wore nearly the same dress as the Highlanders who followed Montrose or Rob Roy. Umbrenus recognizes the deputies of the Allobroges in that court or hall of the forum which was termed 'Græcostasis,' and was appropriated to foreign ambassadors. See Varro, L. L. v. 155: 'Sub dextra hujus a comitio locus substructus, ubi nationum subsisterent legati qui ad senatum essent missi. Is Græcostasis appellatur a parte, ut multa.' In the elder Pliny's time this building had been swept away by the enlargements and improvements of the Forum (Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 1, 6, § 19).

*Videt.*—'Audit' might seem the more appropriate word; but 'videre' = 'cognoscere,' 'accipere,' 'audire,' as in Cicero, Pro Archia, c. 8: 'Quoties ego hunc [Archiam] vidi, magnum numerum optimorum versuum dicere ex tempore.' A passage from Livy (xxiii.) will help to explain the particular grievances of which the Allobroges complained: 'Ad hoc, fessos jam animos Sardorum diuturnitate imperii, et proximo iis anno acerbe atque avara imperatum, gravi tributo et collatione iniqua frumenti oppressos: nihil deesse aliud, quam auctorem ad quem deficerent.'

*Gabinium.*—There is an apparent but no real contradiction in this statement with that of Cicero (Catilin. iii. 6). The latter writer says: 'Ad Gabinium legatos esse perductos.' Sallust says that they were taken to the house of Decimus Brutus. But Cicero's words only imply that the Allobroges met Gabinius then and there.

*Quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset.*—It has been proposed to read *adesset*, but Tacitus (Annal. xiii.) confirms the reading in the text: 'Quo plus auctoritatis inesset consiliis.'

*Innoxios.*—Persons unconnected (having no 'nexus') with the Conspiracy; probably Cæsar, Crassus, etc.

XLI. *Allobroges.*—Cicero makes mention, in connection with this affair

of the Allobroges, of L. Cassius Longinus (*Pro Sulla* xiii.), and of L. Murena, Consul-designate (*Pro Dom.* lii.). Sallust seems to have discredited, or to have been ignorant of their interposition in it.

*Studium belli*.—The national appetite for war. Comp. *supra*, ‘Natura gens Gallica bellicosa;’ and Cato, *Orig.* ii.: ‘Pleraque Gallia duas res industriosissime prosequitur, rem militarem et argute loqui.’—*Majores opes*, the superior resources of the Commonwealth as compared with those of the conspirators. ‘Incerta pro certis’ see c. 20, *supra*, and comp. *Thucyd.* vi. 9: Μὴ τοῖς ἐτοίμοις περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν καὶ μελλόντων κινδυνεύειν.

*Q. Fabio Sangæ*—‘Tantopere apud nostros justitia culta est, ut ii, qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent, earum patroni essent more majorum’ (*Cic. De Off.* i. 11). It is probable, therefore, that this Fabius Sanga was a descendant of Fabius Allobrogicus of whom Juvenal (*Sat.* viii. 13) writes:—

‘Cur Allobrogicis et magnâ gaudeat arâ  
Natus in Herculeo Fabius lare?’

He obtained this victory over the Allobroges in B.C. 634.

*Patrocinio*.—The ‘patrocinium,’ or public protection of conquered cities and countries, was assigned to certain gentes at Rome, and generally descended as an heirloom from the original conqueror of them to his posterity, lineal or adopted; thus, for example, the Marcelli were patrons of Syracuse, in virtue of the capture of that city by M. Claudius Marcellus, in B.C. 212; the Claudi, of Lacedæmon; the Antonii, of Bononia; the Pompeii, of Picenum; and in the present instance, the descendants of Fabius Allobrogicus, of this tribe of Gauls.

*Præcepit . . . simulent*.—Comp. for this change of construction, *Jug.* c. 28, where we have ‘præcepit’ followed by ‘adgrediantur.’ Again, *Jug. c. 111*: ‘Patefecit quod polliceatur.’ In the latter case only, the verb in the preceding clause is in the perfect tense.

*Quam maxime manifestos habeant*.—‘That they should have them fully convicted;’ i.e. to have their complicity fully proven.

*XLII. Motus erat*.—i.e. ‘Tumultus.’ There seems no occasion to understand ‘animorum,’ and translate ‘terror.’ For the ‘motus’ is sufficiently explained by the next sentence.

*Armorum atque telorum portationibus*.—‘Arma portari,’ *supra*, c. 30. Conveyed on the back of mules and in waggons.

*Causa cognita*.—‘When the matter had been investigated.’

*Conjecerat*.—The pluperfect seems here used for the perfect ‘conjecit,’ as ‘concusserat’ for ‘concussit,’ c. 24, *supra*.

*In ulteriore Gallia*.—Gerlach retains ‘citeriore’ in this passage in preference to ‘ulteriore,’ which Corte had proposed, and which is rendered almost a certainty by a passage in Cicero’s *Oration Pro Murena* (c. li.): ‘In ea porro provincia’ (he had just mentioned *Gallia Transalpina*) ‘quo animo C. Murenam fratrem suum aspicet.’ Rome, at this period, previous to Cæsar’s conquests north of the Alps, possessed two provinces of Gaul; *citerior*, on the Italian side of those mountains, bounded to the south by the Rubicon and the Macra; and *ulterior*, north of the Alps, and extending as far as the Rhone and the Cevennes. *Citerior* again was subdivided, with reference to the great river which intersected it, into *Cis-padana* and *Trans-padana*. South of the Alps the population was much more Celtic than it was on the north of them, for the general appellation

of Gauls, on the right bank of the Rhine and within the boundaries of modern France, included a considerable number of purely German tribes, and hybrid races, *i.e.* Celto-Teutonic. See Latham's 'Germania of Tacitus.'—*C. Murena* was legatus to his brother *Lucius*.

**XLIII. Ut videbatur magnis.**—'Ut videbatur' qualifies 'magnis' = apparently considerable.

**Constituerat.**—Many editors read 'constituerant,' in which case the plural must depend on 'Lentulus cum ceteris' = Lentulus et ceteri principes coniurationis. 'Constituerat' seems used for 'constituit.' See note above, on 'conjecerat.'

**Cum exercitu** must mean 'with reinforcements,' for Manlius had already an army at Fæsule. The words are indeed wanting in some manuscripts, and the sense is perhaps clearer without them.

**L. Bestia.**—See above, c. 17. He would enter on his office on the 10th of December (iv. idus), Dionys. vi. 82; so that the Concio, or Assembly of the Tribes, could not be held before the 11th.—*Invidiam*. See c. 22, supra.—*Quereretur*, 'should protest against Cicero's proceedings.' He would complain of the Consul's having driven Catiline from Rome, and of his exciting groundless suspicions against many innocent persons. Comp. Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 3: Λεύκιον δὲ Βηστίαν, τὸν δῆμαρχον, ἐκκλησίαν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ κήρυξι συνάγειν, καὶ κατηγόρειν τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὡς ἀεὶ δειλοῦ καὶ πολεμοποιοῦ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ διαταράττοντος.—*Actiones* is used in the sense of conduct, proceedings, by Cicero (De Off. ii. 1); but it is generally confined to proceedings at law. Bestia, thwarted in his purpose, expressed his resentment on the day when Cicero laid down the consular fasces; for then, we are informed by Plutarch (Cicero, c. 23), as the ex-Consul mounted the rostra, and was about to address the people, the Tribunes, Bestia and Metellus Nepos, would not permit him to speak, but restricted him to the oath customary on the deposition of office. Whereupon Cicero, instead of pronouncing the usual formulary, exalted his voice, so that all the assembly might hear him, and swore that he had saved the Commonwealth and the city (comp. Cicero, Pison. 3; Epist. ad Fam. v. 2).

**Optimo Consuli.**—This phrase was considered by Cicero, when applied to his consulate by M. Brutus, as frigid and far below his merits. He complains (Ad Attic. xii. 21) that Cato was exalted at his expense: 'Quae omnia, quia Cato laudibus extulerat in cœlum perscribendaque censuerat, idcirco in ejus sententiam est facta discessio. Hic autem se etiam tribuere multum mihi putat, quod scripsicerit "optimum Consulem." Quis enim jejunius dixerit inimicus?' Sallust, it is well known, was not on good terms with Cicero; yet there is hardly ground for regarding these words, 'optimo Consuli,' as an intended slight. The Romans did not derogate from Jupiter's greatness when they styled him 'optimus,' as well as 'maximus'; and Cicero himself, when commanding Pansa, calls him 'Consul fortissimus atque optimus' (Philipp. vii. 2).

**Eo signo.**—After 'signo' supply 'dato,' ablative absolute.

**Proxima nocte.**—Plutarch (Cicero, c. 18) states that one of the nights of the Saturnalia was fixed on for the perpetration of these crimes (comp. Cicero, Catilin. iii. 4). The Saturnalia began on the 17th of December; but the Consul anticipated both Bestia's intended harangue, which must have been delivered after the 10th of this month, and the Saturnalia, since the conspirators were put to death on the 5th of December.

*Exsequeretur.*—‘Quisque,’ not ‘cetera multitudo,’ is the nominative case to this verb. Construe: ‘And as for the rest of the conspirators, each should perform (*negotium*) his appointed task.’ Plutarch (Cicero, c. 18) doubtless exaggerates the number of places assigned for firing the city, since he says that Rome was divided into a hundred parts, and a principal incendiary appointed to each of them, while others were to cut off the water and kill all who went to obtain it, during the conflagration.

*Cethagus.*—This was a second attempt on the Consul’s life, different from that mentioned *supra*, c. 28, and stimulated by Catiline’s desire to have Cicero put out of the way before he quitted Rome for his camp at Fæsulae, c. 27.

*Filiī familiarū.*—The rigour of the ‘patria potestas’ at Rome may have been among the reasons for sons so commonly conspiring against their fathers in the later revolutionary periods of the Commonwealth. Velleius, speaking of the proscriptions of the Second Triumvirate, says: ‘Id tamē notandum, fuisse in proscriptis uxorum fidem summam, libertorum medium, servorum aliquam, filiorum *nullam*’ (comp. Appian, Bell. Civ. iv. 36). Catiline’s adherents were mostly young men, as appears from c. 16, *supra*: and Cicero calls them ‘libidinosa et delicata juventus’ (Ad Attic. i. 19), ‘sanguinaria juventus,’ ib. ii. 7, and describes them (Catilin. ii. 3) as the butterflies of the Forum, the loungers in the Senate, the fine gentlemen ‘dropping odours’ and robed in scarlet, etc.

*Erumperent.*—After the conflagration of Rome and the massacre of the Senate. Catiline and his crew may or may not have entertained this hideous project. Neither Sallust nor Cicero are good authority for his real designs. But there is no doubt that Pompeius and the Senatorial party, in b.c. 48, designed to reduce Rome by famine, to turn loose upon Italy hordes of Asiatic barbarians, to divide the estates and confiscate the property of their antagonists, and perhaps even to transfer the seat of empire to Achaia or Asia (see the twelfth book of Cicero’s Letters to Atticus, and Plutarch’s Life of Cicero, c. 38).

*Dies prolatando.*—Comp. Jugurtha, c. 29: ‘Prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa invidia;’ Tacitus, Annal. vi. 42: ‘Diem ex die prolatare.’ ‘Prolatāre’ is an intensive form of ‘proferre, prolatum.’ Putting off the day appointed for these attempts. Comp. Plutarch (Cato Min. 22): Λέντλος δὲ καὶ Κέθηγος, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἔτεροι συχνοὶ, δεξάμενοι τὴν συνωμοσίαν, καὶ τῷ Κατιλίνᾳ δειλίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν τῶν τολμημάτων ἐπικαλοῦντες αὐτὸν διενοῦντο τὴν πόλιν ἄρδην ἀναιρέν πυρι.

*Facto, non consulto.*—Comp. Tacitus, Hist. i. 62: ‘Nihil in discordiis civibus festinatione tutius; ubi facta magis quam consulto, opus esset.’

XLIV. *Conveniunt.*—‘Obtain an interview with.’ ‘Convenire’ has the following meanings:—‘in urbem,’ to come into the city and assemble; ‘in urbe,’ to assemble in the city, being already or having previously been there; ‘aliquem,’ to speak to any one by appointment, to have an interview with him.

*Jusjurandum.*—An oath, compact, or promise in writing, viz. to the effect that if the conspirators were successful, the Allobroges should be relieved from their debts to the State or the ‘negotiatores.’—*Signatum*, ‘with the seals of the contracting parties affixed.’

*Ceteri nihil suspicantes.*—Comp. Cicero (Catilin. iii. 5): ‘Tabellas profiri jussimus, quæ a quoque dicebantur datæ. Primum ostendimus Cethego: signum cognovit.’ Of the conspirators left behind in Rome Cassius alone seems to have had common sense: he avoided being arrested

with the envoys of the Allobroges ('paulo ante ex urbe profiscitur'), and declined giving his signature. The folly, indeed, of Lentulus and his confederates in thus putting themselves into the hands of the Gauls, a race remarkable for its treachery and inconstancy (Polyb. ii. 32, § 8; iii. 70, § 4), was surpassed only by the fatuity of Babington and his accomplices in their plot against Queen Elizabeth in 1586.

*Quendam, Crotoniensem.*—Plutarch (Cicero, c. 18) : Τίτον τινὰ Κρωτωνιάτην. A certain obscure person, native of Crotona, in Bruttium.

*Exemplum infra scriptum.*—The words of this letter are somewhat differently given in Cicero's third speech against Catiline, c. 5:—'Qui sim, ex eo, quem ad te misi, scies. Cura ut vir sis, et quem in locum sis progressus cogita, et vide, quid jam tibi sit necesse. Cura, ut omnium tibi auxilia adjungas, etiam infimorum.' The letter was anonymous,—'erant scriptae sine nomine.' As the third of the Catilinarian speeches was delivered by Cicero from the rostra, and addressed to the people in the Forum, it is probable that he cited from memory the words of the letter, whereas Sallust had access to the archives, and his version may be therefore a transcript of the original document.—*Qui sim*, 'what sort of person I am,' i.e. what is my authority or pretext for tendering to you the following advice. 'Who I am,' would be '*quis sim*'.

*Fac cogites.*—'I entreat you to reflect,' i.e. do all you can to consider in what critical or desperate circumstances you are.—*Virum*, 'be a man'; summon all your courage and prudence for the occasion. Comp. c. 40, supra, 'Si modo *viri* esse vultis;' and Tacitus, Hist. i. 21, 'Si nocentem innocentemque idem exitus maneat, acrioris *viri* esse, merito perire.'

*Tuæ rationes.*—'Your present circumstances;' properly, the account as it stands in your book.

*Infimis.*—'And if you must, arm the slaves.' This was advice too bold to be committed to writing, though it was conveyed in the verbal message which immediately follows. The Commonwealth, on several critical occasions, and especially after the destruction of its army at Cannæ, put arms into the hands of the servile population and enrolled 8000 of them as light troops. But in b.c. 63, the memory of Spartacus and his gladiators was still recent, and such a proposition might alienate even Catiline's desperadoes. The advice, however, setting this prejudice aside, was good: the slaves who tended the great herds of cattle in Umbria and the Abruzzi were among the most stalwart and serviceable men in Italy, and the Apulian shepherds were always looked upon with jealousy even in less dangerous times than the present. See Asconius, in Cicero, Orat. in Toga Candid.: 'Alter, pecore omni vendito et saltibus prope addictis, pastores retinet, ex quibus ait se, cum velit, subito fugitivorum bellum excitaturum.'

**XLV. L. Valerio Flacco.**—He was subsequently defended by Cicero on a charge of peculation in the Province of Asia. See Cicero, Catilin. iii. 2.

*Pomptino.*—There is considerable variation in the spelling of this name. We find it written, Pomptinius, Pontinius, Pomtinus, and Pontinus, as well as Pomptinus, which seems the preferable form. He is first mentioned among the legati of M. Crassus in the Servile War, b.c. 71. After his praetorship, Pomptinus obtained the Province of Gallia Narbonensis, and in b.c. 61, defeated the Allobroges who had invaded Narbonne. He sued for a triumph for this victory, but for a long time the Senate refused to grant it, on the ground that he had not received the imperium by a lex curiata. At length, in b.c. 54, seven years after his victory, Pompt-

tinus, who all this time had been debarred from entering the city, carried his petition, principally through the influence of Appius Claudius, Consul in that year. In b.c. 51 he accompanied Cicero into his province of Cilicia, as legatus, but did not remain there beyond the twelve months (Cic. ad Attic. v. 21, § 9; Dion. Cass. xxxvii. 47; xxxix. 65).

*Ponte Mulvio.*—The Pons Milvius or Mulvius (*Ponte Molle*) was a bridge on the Via Flaminia, by which that road crossed the Tiber about two miles from the Porta Flaminia. In b.c. 110 it was rebuilt, or at least thoroughly repaired by Æmilius Scaurus in his censorship (Aurel. Victor de Vir. Illust. 72), when possibly a bridge of stone replaced the original wooden fabric. Its proximity to Rome, to which it was the principal approach from the north, rendered this bridge an important post during the civil wars of the Empire. Hence it is frequently mentioned by Tacitus, Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, Zosimus, Procopius, etc. In A.D. 547, when Totila destroyed all the other bridges in the neighbourhood of Rome, he spared the Milvian. The present bridge (*Ponte Molle*) is in great part of modern construction, but the foundation and principal piers are ancient. There were many reasons for not arresting the Allobroges within the city. A rescue might have been attempted with success, and the body of the conspirators would certainly have been put upon their guard, and so have escaped. But a bridge without the walls was well suited to the purpose of the seizure: and in the dead of night, when the arrest took place, would be less crowded than the streets of Rome. Moreover, in the deep recesses of the bridge the Prætors and their soldiers could conveniently conceal themselves until the moment when Volturcius and the Gauls appeared. Under the Emperors the Milvian bridge was the haunt of the idle and profligate,—‘*celebris nocturnis illecebris*’ (Tacitus, Annal. xiii. 47).

*Homines militares.*—As we might say, ‘old soldiers;’ men who knew how to go to work.

*Obsidunt.*—‘Occupy;’ as in Lucretius: ‘*Obsiduntque vias oculorum.*’ ‘*Obsident*’ would mean ‘beset,’ ‘besiege.’ Compare ‘*adsideo*,’ ‘*adsido*;’ the former referring to the permanent act of sitting, the latter to the taking the seat.

*Utrinque.*—That is to say, on both sides of the bridge, which is explained by comparing Cic. Cat. iii. 2: ‘*Illi . . . cum advesperaseret, occulte ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt, atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset.*’

*Galli cito cognito.*—‘Soon understanding the matter.’ It would appear from the insertion of ‘cito’ that the ambassadors were not at the first aware of the Consul’s stratagem.

*Dedit.*—Present from ‘*dedo*.’

*XLVI. Perdendæ reipublicæ.*—See note on c. 6.

*Q. Caeparium . . . parabat.*—Catiline seems to have had much greater scruples as to raising the slave population than the other conspirators. We find Lentulus above urging him to that measure, Caeparius mentioned as actually on his way to carry it into execution, while Catiline rejects the slaves till the very moment when the news of the execution of the conspirators at Rome is brought to the camp. This course may have been the result of policy, as Sallust hints, c. 56, or the result of fear. Comp. Cicero, Cat. iii. 6: ‘*Cui (Caepario) ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam esse attributam erat indicatum.*’ The ‘pastores’ were of course slaves.

*Lentulum quod prætor erat.*—Lentulus had been turned out of the Senate, and, therefore, in order to regain his seat, he had sued for the prætorship, and obtained it. Lentulus had been Consul in A.U. 683.

*Volturcum cum legatis introducit.*—Comp. Cic. Cat. iii. 4: 'Introduxi Volturcum sine Gallis: fidem ei publicam jussu senatus dedi: hortatus sum, ut ea quæ sciret, sine metu indicaret. Tum ille quum vix se ex magno timore recreasset, dixit: etc.'

**XLVII. *Fide publica.***—Compare passage in Cic. Cat. iii., quoted above, also Sallust, Cat. c. 48; Jug. c. 32, 35.

*Nihil amplius scire quam legatos.*—Simply that his knowledge of the Plot was as limited as that of the Allobroges. Kritz, however, takes 'nihil' in the sense of 'nullum,' explaining the passage thus: 'Se præter quam quod legatos sciant conjurationis participes esse, nullum plane ex conjuratis nosse.' But this seems a very forced meaning.

**Præterea.**—So Cicero (Catilin. iii. 4): 'Eumdemque dixisse fatalem hunc esse annum ad interitum hujus urbis atque imperii, qui esset decimus annus post virginum absolutionem, post Capitolii autem incensionem vice-simus.'

*Ab incenso Capitolio.*—*i.e.* In the consulship of L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, and C. Norbanus Balbus, during the war between Marius and Sulla, B.C. 83.

*Abdicato magistratu.*—He took off his prætor's gown in the Senate. See Plut. (Cicero, 17).

*Retractus erat.*—See chapter xxxi.,—'Retractum ex itinere.'

**XLVIII. *Conjuratione patefacta.***—That is, by Cicero in his third oration against Catiline, which was delivered after the Allobroges and Volturcius had been examined.

*Quæ primo cupida.*—See c. 37: 'Sed omnino cuncta plebes novarum rerum studio Catilinæ incepta favebat.'

*Gaudium atque lætitiam.*—'Gladness and joy,' the latter being the more forcible expression. Cic. Tusc. vi. 13: 'Cum ratione animus movetur placide atque constanter, tum illud gaudium dicitur. Cum autem inaniter et effuse animus exsultat, tum illa lætitia gestiens vel nimia dici potest.'

*Quippe cui.*—They whose sole property was the tools they wrought with, the furniture of their cellars or garrets, and the clothes they wore, had little dread of being plundered. But fire was a calamity which came home to every man, deprived the needy of the little they had, and left the ill-lodged without a roof. The misery and dismay occasioned by the burning of Rome in Nero's reign is thus powerfully sketched by Tacitus, and his description affords an image of what a conflagration would have been in B.C. 63. Indeed at this period it might have been worse than in A.D. 64, since the Cæsars had cleared away much of the older city and exchanged narrow and winding alleys for stately and capacious squares (Annals xv. 38). 'Impetu pervagatum incendium plana primum, deinde in edita assurgens, et rursum inferiora populando, anteit remedia velocitate mali, et obnoxia urbe arctis iteribus hucque et illuc flexis, atque enormibus vicis, qualis vetus Roma fuit. Ad hoc lamenta paventium foeminarum, fessa senum ac ruditis pueritiae ætas, quique sibi, quique aliis consulebant, dum trahunt invalidos, aut opperuntur, pars morans, pars festinans, cuncta impediabant, et sæpe, dum in tergum respectant, lateribus aut fronte circumveniebantur: vel si in proxima evaserant, illis quoque igni correptis, etiam, quæ longinqua crediderant, in eodem casu reperiebantur. Postremo,

quid vitarent, quid peterent ambiguī, complere vias, sterni per agros: quidam amissis omnibus fortunis diurni quoque victus, alii caritate suorum, quos eripere nequierant, quamvis patente effugio, interiere.' In casual and partial fires at Rome, M. Crassus contrived to be a considerable gainer. For, Plutarch says (Crassus, c. 2, Long's translation): 'Observing the accidents that were indigenous and familiar at Rome, conflagrations, and tumbling down of houses owing to their weight and crowded state, he bought slaves who were architects and builders. Having got these slaves to the number of more than five hundred, it was his practice to buy up houses on fire, and the houses which were adjoining to those on fire; for the owners, owing to fear and uncertainty, would sell them at a low price; and thus the greatest part of Rome fell into the hands of Crassus.'

*Ne eum Lentulus.*—'Not to be disheartened by the seizure of Lentulus,' etc.

*Potestatem.*—'Leave to make disclosures.'

*Immissum.*—'Instigated,' sent in with a bad motive or by ill luck; used of informers, false-witnesses, hired assassins. Comp. Virg. Eclog. ii. 58:—

‘Eheu! quid volui misero mihi? floribus austrum  
Perditus et liquidis immisi fontibus apros.’

*More suo.*—i.e. 'Suscipiendo malorum patrocinium.' Cicero, De Offic. i. 30, and Paradox. 6, mentions this habit of Crassus. Plutarch, however, in his life of Crassus (c. 3), describes him as a friendly man, always ready to give his aid to persons consulting him.

*Prædicantem.*—'Openly affirming,' as in Jugurtha, c. 14: 'Uti prædicantem audiveram patrem meum.'

*Contumeliam . . . impositam.*—'That Cicero had put on him such an affront.' Comp. Cicero, Verrin. vi.: 'Quibus tu privatim injurias plurimas contumeliasque imposuisti.' 'Imponere' is used with *labem*; as by Livy, vi. 32: 'Labem secundæ Dictaturæ imposuerint'; with *stigmata* (a brand), Suetonius (Julius, c. 73): 'Catullum a quo sibi versiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulaverat, satisfacientem, eodem die adhibuit cœnæ.' Plutarch (Crassus, c. 13) says: 'Ομως δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐν τινι λόγῳ φανερὸς ἦν Κράσσῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τὴν αὐτὰν προστριβόμενος. Ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν δ' λόγος ἔξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῖν τελευτῆν.' In the Introduction I have assigned reasons for disbelieving either Crassus or Cæsar to have been mixed up in Catiline's conspiracy.

**XLIX. C. Piso.**—He was Consul in B.C. 67, and Proconsul of the Further Gaul in the following year. Accused of malversation in his province, he was defended by Cicero in B.C. 65. He must be distinguished from his contemporary of the Gens Calpurnia with the same prænomen, viz. C. Piso Frugi, first husband of Tullia, Cicero's daughter.

*Falso.*—The historian here speaks as a Cæsarian. Suspicion of complicity, however, long clung to Cæsar's name; and in the following year he was again accused of it by one L. Vettius. But had not the informer unluckily been found dead in prison, into which he had been thrown on another account, his story would have been treated with contempt, for Vettius was a man of bad character, and nothing but the circumstances of his death would have gained any credit for the accusation.

*Oppugnatus.*—Sc. 'a Cæsare:' for Cæsar was patron of the Cisalpine Gauls beyond the Po.

*Ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus.*—The anger of Catulus was

caused (1) by the youth of the successful candidate : Cæsar was then thirty-seven years old ; (2) by the difference of their social position : for Catulus was then one of the noblest Romans of them all, whereas the Julia Gens, in spite of its remote ancestry, was comparatively undistinguished, and had been soiled, in contemporary estimation, by marriage with the plebian C. Marius ; (3) by his political position : for Cæsar was then obscure, while Catulus was Princeps Senatus, and no mean favourite also with the Commons. This pontifical election was indeed a trial of strength between the Sullan and Marian parties : and before the issue of it Catulus presumed on his own influence and his rival's weakness so much that he offered to buy him off by paying his debts. Cæsar, however, understood the nature of the crisis and his own influence better than to accept this offer. His debts were overwhelming ; the authority of the Senate was immense : but 'he rejected the bribe with scorn, and declared he would borrow still more largely, to gain the prize.' The nobles were straining every nerve to implicate him in a charge of conspiracy against the State, and the chief pontificate was necessary to ensure his safety. When the hour of election had come, he addressed his mother, as he left his house, with the words, 'This day your son will either be supreme pontiff, or else an exile.'—Merivale, 'Fall of the Roman Republic,' p. 221. Comp. Plutarch, Cæsar, c. 7 ; Suetonius, Julius, c. 13 ; Dion. Cass. xxxvii. 37.

*Privatum egregia liberalitate, publice maximis muneribus.*—Comp. infra, c. 54, for Cæsar's *private munificence*. His *Ædileship* in b.c. 65 had displayed on a large scale his *public liberality* (Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 16). Of his debts Cæsar himself said that he wanted one hundred million of sesterces (=£807,291) to be 'worth nothing'! Cicero (De Offic. ii. 24) imputes to Cæsar, on account of his notorious insolvencies, an inclination at least to combine with Catiline. But he needed not to resort to such desperate courses, for money was always forthcoming from the wealthy men of his party ; e.g., Crassus furnished his outfit for the proprætorship in Spain at the moment Cæsar's creditors were about to arrest him.

*Impellere nequeunt.*—Cicero adroitly contrived that Cæsar should appear to have given the earliest information of the Plot. See Suetonius, Julius, c. 17 : 'Cæsar implorato Ciceronis testimonio . . . quædam se de conjuratione ultro ad eum delutuisse . . . ne Curio præmia darentur, effecit.'

*Ædem Concordiae.*—Attached to this temple was a Senaculum, or building in which the Senate met on extraordinary occasions, like the present. It fronted the Comitium. The *Ædes Concordiae* was built and consecrated by C. Flavius, a curule *Ædile* (Livy, ix. 46 ; Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 1), and after the murder of C. Gracchus, was re-built by the Consul Opimius. The following inscription, placed over its entrance by a satirical wit, alluded to the name of the temple, and the discord of the time, b.c. 121 : 'Ἐργὸν ἀπονοίας ναὸν Ὀμονοίας ποτεῖ' (Plutarch, C. Gracch. c. 17).

L. *Dum hæc in senatu.*—On the 4th of December. Comp. Cicero, Catilin. iv. 3.

*Præmia decernuntur.*—Besides these rewards to the Allobroges and Volturcius, a complimentary recompense was given to Cæsar as having been the first to apprise Cicero of the conspiracy, while the spy Curius was, by a vote of the Senate, excluded from his promised remuneration.

*Liberti . . . Lentuli.*—'Quod auditum est, lenonem quemdam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas, pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitorum' (Cicero, Catilin. iv. 8).—*Diversis itineribus*, 'going about in different directions,' through all quarters of the city.

*Ad eum eripiendum.*—Sc. ‘a custodia.’ Cicero (*l.c.*) states that none could be found to engage in such an attempt. But Appian (Bell. Civ. ii. 5) says that on the nones of December (5th), while the Senate was debating upon the sentence to be passed on the conspirators, the slaves (*servitia*) and freedmen of Lentulus and Cethegus, and a large body of workmen (*opifices*) attacked the houses of the Praetors, with a view of rescuing the prisoners. Whereupon Cicero left the Senate-house and placed guards in the more disaffected quarters of Rome, and, having done so, resumed the debate.

*Duces multitudinum.*—Comp. Tacitus, Annal. i. 16 : ‘Percennius quidam, dux olim theatralium operarum.’ The leading of a political mob in the forum, or of applauders in the theatres, was a recognized vocation at Rome. Glauzia performed the office of fugleman for the demagogue Saturninus in B.C. 100, and one Sextus for P. Clodius in B.C. 58. ‘Multitudinum’ is a singular, if not a solitary, instance of this word in the plural, and it means not a crowd generally, but the divisions, clubs, or unions of the Roman populace. More than once it was found necessary to prohibit, by a decree of the Senate, the lesser clubs or guilds of the commonalty, since, having some sort of discipline, they were at all times formidable enemies to peace and order.—*Familiam*, the slaves of a household collectively, sometimes amounting to many hundred persons. ‘Familia,’ derived originally from the Oscan *famel*, a ‘servant,’ includes a reference to the strictness of the *patria potestas* at Rome. See Donaldson, Varronianus, p. 126, ed. 2. In their relations to the ‘pater,’ or head of the house, wife, children, and slaves alike were ‘famuli.’—*Lectos*, picked out for their strength and courage, and trained up in ruffianism. *In for ad* is not uncommon. Comp. Cicero, Divinat., ‘In eandem rem accommodari;’ Livy, iii. 36, ‘Cœpit collegas in suos mores formare.’

*Ad sese.*—i.e. Into the house of Cornificius. See *supra*, c. 47.

*Convocato senatu.*—It was apparently summoned again to the Temple of Concord on the 5th of December.—*Paulo ante*, on the 3rd, when they were ‘traditi in custodiam.’ See c. 47.—*Contra rempublicam facere* is equivalent to ‘perduelles esse,’ i.e. ‘cum quibus bellum est’ (see Gaius, Digest. 4, 16, tit. 234)=to commit treason.

*Silanus.*—D. Junius Silanus was step-father of M. Brutus, Caesar’s assassin, having married his mother Servilia. He had some reputation for eloquence, but owed it rather to his natural capabilities than to study (Cicero, Brut. c. 68).

*Primus sententiam rogatus quod, etc.*—This was the established rule. (Comp. Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 5; Tacitus, Annal. iii. 22.) At an earlier period, the Senator whom the latest Censors had declared to be ‘princeps senatus’ for the next lustrum (five years), was ‘primus sententiam rogatus.’ Sallust records Cæsar and Cato as the principal speakers in this debate. Cicero he passes over, not for the reason commonly assigned, his personal dislike of the Consul, but because Cicero’s Catilinarian speeches were published, and in everybody’s hands. But many other senators took part in the discussion, viz. Q. Catulus, Servilius Isauricus, M. and L. Lucullus, C. Curio, L. Torquatus, M. Æmilius Lepidus, L. Gellius, Volcatius Tullus, C. Marcius Figulus, L. Aurelius Cotta, L. Cæsar, C. Piso, M. Acilius Glabrio, Licinius Murena, etc. (Cicero, xii. Epist. ad Attic. 21). The Quintus Annius of this chapter seems to be the same person with Q. Manlius Chilo of Cicero, Catilin. iii. 6.

*Decreverat . . . dixerat . . . censuerat.*—These pluperfects must be taken

as perfects, for Cæsar had not yet spoken.—*Pedibus ire in sententiam* expresses the Roman method of voting in the Curia; *dividing*, as in the English Senate, to the right or left of the chair.—*Tib. Neronis*. He was the grandfather of the Emperor Tiberius. His motion was to this effect, that they should not proceed to pass sentence at once, but make the custody of Lentulus and his comrades more strict, collect a larger force against Catiline, etc., abating the severity of Silanus, who at first recommended death, and more rigorous than Cæsar, who proposed merely exile and confiscation. Tiberius spoke after Cæsar.

*Hujuscemodi*.—This was the drift of their respective arguments. There were short-hand writers in the Senate, and on this occasion Cicero had employed besides some of the members to take special notes of the proceedings. Yet Sallust has most probably given imaginary speeches to both Cæsar and Cato, in which he consults only dramatic verisimilitude. Cæsar was accounted by his contemporaries and by the critics of a later age as second to Cicero alone as an orator. See Quintilian, Instit. x. 1, § 114: ‘C. vero Cæsar, si foro tantum vacasset, non aliud ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur: tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea conciliatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat. Exornat tamen hæc omnia mira sermonis, cuius proprie studiosus fuit, elegantia.’

LI. The commencement of Cæsar's speech is almost a translation of the words of Demosthenes, De Chersones.: ‘Ἐδει μὲν τὸς λέγοντας ἀπαυτας ἐν ὑμῖν, μήτε πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον μῆδενα, μήτε πρὸς χάριν. Such rhetorical professions of impartiality were common to orators and historians. Thus, Tacitus, Annals i. 1, ‘Sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo;’ id. Hist. i. 1, ‘Incorrumptam fidem professis neque amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus est.’ Comp. c. 4, supra, ‘Eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ, animus liber erat.’

*Haud facile*.—Servius, ad Georg. ii. 498, cites these words, ‘Nam animus haud facile verum providet,’ etc., which is perhaps correct. Procopius, who lived in the sixth century A.D., seems to have had Sallust in his memory when he wrote the words (De Bell. Getic. ii. 16): Δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἐς βουλὴν καθισταμένους αἰδοῦς τε καὶ φόβου παντάπασιν ἐλευθέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν γνῶμην δ τε γὰρ φόβος δεῖ τοὺς αὐτῷ περιπεπτωκέτας ἐκπλήσσων, οὐκ ἐξ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσων, ή τε αἰδὼς ἐπισκιάζουσα τοὺς δόξασιν εἶναι ἀμελητούν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐκφέρει τὴν γνῶσιν.

*Ubi intenderis*.—Supply ‘aliquo.’—*Ingenium*=animus. ‘Think earnestly, and Thought is master: let Passion have sway, and she is mistress, and Thought's power is gone.’

*Male*.—Supply ‘sibi.’—*Recte atque ordine*. This seems to have been a usual formula to express right conduct. See Cicero, Pro Roscio Amerino, c. 48, ‘Laudabunt omnes, si recte atque ordine judicaris;’ id. Pro Quintio, c. 7: ‘Si hoc ... recte atque ordine factum videtur?’ It is also frequently employed by Livy.

*Perse*.—This is the archaic form used by Roman writers previous to Livy. The last war of Rome with Macedon commenced in B.C. 171, and was terminated by the battle of Pydna in B.C. 168. In the following year the Macedonian kingdom was broken up into four separate districts (Livy, xlv. 9).—*De Rhodiis consultum*. So far is Sallust's account from the truth, that the conduct of the Senate and people with respect to Rhodes was flagrantly unjust and dishonest. The Rhodians had done nothing during the war with Perseus contrary to

the then received law of nations. As an independent State they had offered to mediate between the contending Powers; as mediators they were allowed to remain idle in Rome until the news of the victory at Pydna arrived, then audience was granted them, and they were dismissed with a contemptuous reproof. But for the intervention of the elder Cato (Gellius, Noct. Attic. vii. 3), war would have been declared against Rhodes: as it was, the island was not only deprived of Lycia and Caria, the gift of the Senate, but also of Stratoniceia and Caunus, cities which they had purchased with their own money, while by declaring Delos a free port under Roman protection, a deadly blow was inflicted on the commerce of Rhodes. With respect to this decree and to the 'multa nefaria facinora' of the Carthaginians, alluded to in the next sentence, it may be observed, that in perfidious dealings, breach of treaties, hypocrisy to the strong, and fraud on the weak, no nation ever surpassed the Roman people. 'Romana fides' would be as just a censure as 'Punica fides'; and whatever 'Græcia mendax' may have dared to affirm in history (Juvenal, Satir. x. 174), the Roman writers, whenever they speak of the public policy of the Commonwealth, merit the utmost suspicion. For the enormous lying of their domestic annals Livy himself (vii. *in fine*) vouches.

*Per occasionem* = occasione oblata.

*Digna poena pro factis*.—'Pro,' in proportion to, commensurate with. As in Horace, Epist. i. 7, 24: 'Dignum præstabο me etiam pro laude merentis.'

*Reperitur* = reperienda est. Translate: 'If we can possibly find.'

*Novum consilium*.—'Supplicii sumendi;' since it was not usual to put a Roman citizen to death. Silanus, in the opening speech in this debate, had declared, amid profound silence, that the criminals merited extreme punishment ( $\tauὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην δοῦναι$ , Plutarch, Cicero, 20), and he had reminded the Senate that in extreme cases this punishment had been formerly resorted to. Cicero, Catilin. iv. 4: 'Hoc genus poenæ saepe in improbos cives in republica esse usurpatum.' But neither the severe Silanus nor the merciful Cæsar ventured to utter the word 'mors.' To this day the Italians have a similar dread of speaking of death directly, and the Corsicans avoid it by the subterfuge of *ella*, 'it.' Cæsar's advice was sound. Cicero and the Senate made the law for the occasion; but it was to this violation of the existing law, forbidding a Roman citizen to be put to death without a formal vote of the Roman people, that Cicero owed his banishment, and the Senate, his accomplices, much of their subsequent unpopularity.

*Magnitudo . . . exsuperat*.—'This portentous, unexampled crime transcends the imagination of all.'—*His*, the forms of punishment which the laws provide.

*Composite atque magnifice*.—'In rounded and specious periods.'—*Casum reip.* 'The unhappy condition of the State,' in the condition into which it has fallen ('casum').

*Sed per deos*.—'But, by the Powers above, what was the aim of that strain of oratory? Was it to set you in arms against the Plot? Will any one tell me (*scilicet*, ironically) that the man whom a design so comprehensive and so heinous moved not in his very soul (*per-movit*) will be roused to anger by fine words? I trow not. Of his own wrongs no one thinks slightly: most men are rather inclined to give them undue weight. Again, all men have not similar freedom of action.' Compare

with *alia aliis licentia*, Tacitus, Annal. iii. 6: ‘Non enim eadem decora principibus viris et imperatori populo, quæ modicis domibus aut civitatis.’

*Etatem agunt* is really the same as the preceding ‘vitam habent’ = vivunt. But ‘vita’ is used of plants as well as of men, and ‘ætas’ is therefore the more dignified expression.

*Ita in maxima fortuna.*—‘And so the higher station has ever the lesser room for love (“studere” = favere), for hate, and, least of all, for anger; since what in private men goes by the name of wrath, in those clad with authority is termed tyranny and rigour.’ Comp. Seneca, Octavia, act ii.

574 :—

‘*Nero.* Prohibebor unus facere quod cunctis licet?  
*Seneca.* Majora populus semper a summis exigit.’

And Cicero, De Offic. i. 89: ‘Prohibenda quam maxime ira in puniendo.’

*Equidem ego.*—This reduplication of ‘ego’ (ego—ego quidem) is among the proofs that this speech is Sallust’s and not Cæsar’s composition. Cæsar would have used ‘equidem’ alone: Sallust, like the Greek orators, is fond of employing the pronoun of the first personal singular with the verb. ‘Equidem’ is the strong form of ‘quidem,’ as ‘e-durus’ and ‘e-gelidus’ are of ‘durus’ and ‘gelidus,’ or as ‘enim’ is of ‘nam.’ ‘Equidem,’ though including ‘ego,’ is not restricted to the first person, or even to the singular number; e.g. c. 58, *infra*, ‘Scitis equidem milites;’ yet it always implies a reference to the speaker,—‘You know, I am sure, soldiers.’

*Fortem atque strenuum.*—This, a very usual combination, is applied to civilians as well as soldiers, to moral as well as physical qualities; e.g. Horace, Epist. i. 7, 46 :—

‘Strenuus et fortis causisque Philippus agendis  
Clarus.’

Cato, R. R. præf. § 4: ‘Viri fortissimi et milites strenuissimi.’

*Studio reipublicæ.*—Out of his zeal for the public service.—*Eos mores eamque modestiam.* Such I know to be the principles, such the moderation of that (excellent) man.—*Aliena*, unconstitutional, impolitic.

*Lex Porcia.*—This law was passed shortly after the close of the Second Punic War, in A.U.C. 454, by P. Porcius Læca, Tribune of the Plebs. It forbade, under a heavy penalty, the scourging or putting to death of a Roman citizen, without a decree of the people in the Comitia Tributa. It also allowed a citizen, when cited before the people on a capital charge, to decline a trial and go into banishment. See *infra*, note on Lex Porcia.

*Aliæ leges.*—There were the Valerian laws prior to the Lex Porcia, and the Leges Sempronianeæ of Caius Gracchus, in which latter the magistrate was forbidden to pass sentence of death on any Roman citizen without the consent of the whole people. Cicero, in his fifth oration against Verres, in mentioning the case of a Roman citizen who had been flogged to death in the forum at Messana, exclaims, ‘O Lex Porcia legesque Sempronianæ !’

*Qui.*—Ablative, for ‘quo.’

*At enim = ἀλλὰ γάρ.*—Introducing an objection of some one among the audience, as it were.

*Quid in alios statuatis.*—‘Consider how your present decree may

affect other persons hereafter, how it may become an implement in the hands of the strong against the weak, and since *omnia mala exempla*,—all evil precedents (*exempla*, acts so important as to become precedents) have, at some time or other, sprung from good or, at least, specious grounds, beware, etc. Compare Velleius, ii. 3: ‘Non ibi consistunt *exempla*, unde coeperunt, sed quamlibet in tenuem recepta tramitem latissime evagandi sibi viam faciunt.’

*Dignis et idoneis.*—i.e. ‘Dignis poena; idoneos ad poenam.’—*Indignos=non dignos.* For the use of ‘idoneus’ in this passage comp. Cicero (Pro Cluentio, c. 47): ‘Per hominum idoneorum ignominiam.’

*Devictis Atheniensibus.*—At the close of the Peloponnesian War, b.c. 405, when, after the ruin of their navy at Ægospotami, the Athenians were compelled to dismantle their fortifications, receive a Spartan garrison, and place the government in the hands of a Board of thirty.

*Ea populus lætari.*—Comp. Jugurth. c. 14: ‘Tamen lætandum magis, quam dolendum, puto casum tuum.’

*Juxta bonos et malos.*—Xenophon, Hellenic. 11, 4, says that the Thirty put to death more Athenians in eight months than the war had destroyed in ten years.

*Damasippum.*—L. Junius Brutus Damasippus, an active, unprincipled partisan of Marius, Prætor Urbanus in b.c. 82. He put to death, at the instigation of the younger Marius, Papirius Carbo, Scævola, then Pontifex Maximus, and other members of the Senate, and was himself in the same year taken prisoner and sent to execution by the Dictator Sulla. He appears to have been by a birth a Junius, but to have been adopted by the Licinian family, since Damasippus is one of its cognomens, and he is sometimes entitled Brutus and sometimes Damasippus (Appian, Bell. Civ. i. 88–93).

*Ingenia.*—Tempers, dispositions.

*Proba.*—‘Probanda,’ to be approved of; worthy of approbation.

*Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus.*—The assertion that Rome borrowed from Samnium its offensive and defensive arms is made by Diodorus Siculus (xxiii. 1, Fragm. Vatic., and in Athen. vi. 106, p. 273). At what period the adoption was made is unknown. Livy (ix. 40) describes the Samnite infantry as *scutati*; and the use of the ‘scutum’—oval or oblong buckler—implies that the sword and not the spear was their offensive weapon. We learn also (*ib.*) that the Campanians called their gladiators Samnites, because they equipped them with arms taken from that people; and in gladiatorial combats, as the very name shows, the sword was the common weapon. Perhaps the Samnite weapons may have been introduced into the Roman army about the time when Camillus broke up the older and closer order of the phalanx which the Samnites did not use, and adopted, or at least approximated to, the open ranks of the legion.

*Insignia magistratum ab Tuscis.*—See Livy, i. 8: ‘Me haud poenitent eorum sententiæ esse quibus et apparitores et hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimus, unde sella curulis, unde toga prætexta sumpta est.’ These *insignia* were, a white robe bordered with crimson stripes (‘trabea’); the ivory sceptre or staff; the *sella curulis*; twelve lictors, etc.

*Imitari quam invidere.*—i.e. ‘Imitari [bona instituta] quam invidere bonis [institutis].’ Comp. Apuleius Florid. ix. p. 119, ed. Bipont.: ‘Quoniam in magna civitate hoc quoque genus invenitur, qui meliores obtrectare malint quam imitari.’

*Lex Porcia aliæque leges.*—Since the Romans, like all other civilized nations, put murderers, robbers, parricides, etc., to death, besides having secondary punishments for lesser offenders, it is plain that the Porcian and similar laws applied to political offenders only.—*Exilium* was not banishment in our sense of the word, and which indeed was entirely unknown to the Roman law. It is more properly, as Cicero terms it (*De Orat.* i. 39), the *jus exulandi*,—the act or privilege whereby a man renounced the freedom of his own city, by taking up his municipal franchise; and the liberty which a person, bound by sureties to stand his trial before the people, had of withdrawing from the consequences of their verdict by exiling himself, was only an application of the general principle. If the accused staid till sentence was past, that is, until the last tribe had voted (*Polybius*, vi. 14), he was condemned as a Roman, and it would be executed upon him wherever he was taken. But if he availed himself of his municipal franchise in time, he had become a citizen of a foreign State, and the sentence was null and void. The *jus exulandi* was in force till just before the Social War (B.C. 90), even with respect to Rome, though it had become rare and obscure (*Niebuhr, Hist. of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 63, E.T.).

*Publicandas.*—To be confiscated to the State-treasury ('ærarium').

*Per municipia.*—Comp. Cicero in *Catilin.* iv. 4, for a summary of the respective arguments of Silanus and Cæsar.

LII. *Verbo . . . adsentiebantur.*—They signified their assent one to one speaker, and one to another (siding either with Silanus or Cæsar) *verbo*, 'by a single word'; that is, they did not make speeches, like Cæsar and Cato. See note on 'Primus sententiam rogatus,' c. 49.

*M. Porcius Cato* ('Uticensis'), grandson of Cato the Censor; he was thirty-two years of age at this time; had served no high office, but was Tribune Elect.

*Longe mihi alia mens.*—The beginning of this speech has been compared with the commencement of the third Olynthiac of Demosthenes: Οὐχὶ ταῦτὰ παρίσταται μοι γιγνώσκειν, ὃ ἂνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν τε εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέψω καὶ ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὖς ἀκόνω τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον δρῶ γιγνομένους, etc.

*Aris atque focus.*—Commentators are at issue as to the meaning to be assigned to these two words. Several commentators, Corte among the number, consider the expression equivalent to 'public altars and private hearths'; while Ernesti (*Clavis Cic.*), followed by Kritz, Mr. Merivale, and others, consider 'ara' to be the altar in the impluvium, and 'focus,' the hearth in the atrium, around which the Lares were placed.

*In illis.*—Gerlach on all occasions prefers this reading to that of 'in illis,' though the latter seems far preferable here: 'what determination we are to come to in *their* case.' So, 'in furibus,' below,—'in the case of thieves.'

*Persequare.*—Indefinite; he is not bringing forward any particular example.

*Capta urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis.*—A proverb somewhat similar to the proverb of shutting the stable-door when the steed is stolen.

*Cujuscunque modi sunt.*—Observe the indicative mood. There is doubt as to the kind, none as to the existence of these pleasures; so, immediately below, 'Cujus haec cuncte videntur.'

*Non agitur, etc.*—'The question that is raised is not one of revenue, nor of wrongs at the hands of allies; our liberties, our lives are in danger.'

*In dubio.*—The danger was not only great, but also undefined.

*Opulentia negligentiam tolerabat.*—‘The abundant resources of the State enabled it, though with difficulty, to put up with your reckless conduct.’ Compare, for the use of ‘toleraverat,’ ch. 24.

*Hic.*—‘At this part of my speech some one mentions to me clemency and feelings of pity.’

*Jam pridem . . . amisimus.*—‘It is many a long day since we first suffered words to lose their right meanings.’ Mr. Merivale compares Thuc. iii. 82: Τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων . . . ἀντήλλαξαν, etc. etc.

*Ne illi* = dummodo ne; ‘only don’t let them.’

*Bene et composite . . . memorantur.*—‘Caius Caesar just now, in this assembly, discoursed well, and in good set terms, on the question of life and death, deeming false, as I suppose, the things that are told of the regions below.’ Comp. ‘Composite atque magnifice.’

*Diverso.*—‘Exactly opposite;’ not simply different.—*Loca tætra*, etc. Comp. Æneid. vi. 495.

*Habere.*—For ‘habitare.’ See Cat. ch. 6, Jug. 18.

*A multitudine conducta.*—Comp. *supra*, c. 50: ‘Partim exquirebant duces multitudinum qui pretio rempublicam vexare soliti erant.’

*Quare, etc. . . . metuit.*—‘Wherefore, in my opinion, if he apprehends danger from the conspirators, this mode of proceeding is worthless.’

*Si paululum . . . aderunt.*—‘If they see the slightest signs of feebleness on your part, you will have all the cut-throats down upon you at once.’

*Præterea.*—‘Not to mention.’ ‘Præterea,’ used of a second and stronger reason if possible, which the writer consents to leave alone.

*Quæ nobis nulla sunt.*—‘Which are lost and gone from us.’ Comp. Plautus, Casin. ii. 4, 26: ‘Si id factum est, ecce me nullum senem.’ Ter. Phorm. i. 4, 1, ‘Nullus es,—you are lost, done for (Merivale).’

*Neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius.*—‘Neither in subjection to guilt or passion.’

*In vacuam rempublicam.*—i.e. Defensoribus = ‘unprotected.’

*Supra caput.*—Metaphor from an impending and unseen danger, as of a tile falling on the head of any person in the street.

*Hostibus faciatis.*—For this use of the dative with ‘facio,’ comp. Cat. 55, ‘Idem fit ceteris per prætores,’ Jug. 85, ‘Faciant idem majoribus suis.’

*Scilicet . . . maxime.*—‘So then the matter is fraught with peril; but you fear it not. Oh yes, you do, and very greatly, too! But it is from, etc.

*Suppliciis.*—Used in its older sense, as in ch. 9.

*Videlicet . . . obstat.*—‘I suppose the rest of their lives is a contradiction to the crime.’

*Pudicitiae . . . famæ . . . pepercit.*—See above, ch. 25; Tac. Ann. xiii. 45.

*Iterum.*—This would point out Cethegus as one of the prior conspiracy of Catiline.

*Faucibus urget.*—Catiline’s grip is on your very throats.

*De manifestis* = ‘convictis,’ alone; those who had been shown to be guilty. See Jug. 35.

*More majorum.*—By strangling.

*LIII. Adsedit.*—‘Took his seat;’ in which sense, says Mr. Merivale, ‘adsedo’ is used, not ‘advideo.’ Comp. Plaut. Bacch. iii. 3, 28: ‘Adsido, accurrit servi, soccos detrahunt.’

*Sicuti ille censuerat.*—Cato's speech seems to have turned the scale in favour of capital punishment. Though Cicero claims the chief merit for himself, saying of Cato, in a letter to Atticus (xii. 21), ‘Cur ego in sententiam Catonis? Quia verbis luculentioribus et pluribus *eandem rem* comprehenderat.’ But surely Sallust would have mentioned at least the fact of Cicero's having spoken, had his speech been of so important a character. On the other hand, Cicero, in defending Sestius, says (c. 28) of Cato, ‘Obtulit in discrimen vitam suam. Dixit eam sententiam cuius invidiam capitis periculo sibi praestandum videbat, dixit vehemente, dixit acriter, ea quæ sensit præ se tulit, dux, auctor, actor illarum rerum fuit.’

*Sciebam . . . contendisse.*—Comp. Cat. c. 7: ‘Memorare possem quibus in locis maximas hostium copias populus Romanus parva fuderit.’

*Rursus.*—Back again, in a contrary direction = contra.

*Sicuti effeta parentum.*—Sc. ‘corpora;’ the parent stock being, as it were, exhausted. Corte suggested, and Kritz adopts, ‘effeta’ = ‘effœta parens inter parentes,’ a parent whose strength has departed. Dietsch conjectures ‘effœta ætas parentum,’ comparing Virgil, *Aeneid* vii. 460:—

‘En, ego victa situ, quam veri effœta senectus.’

*Viri duo.*—An exact proportion of parts (*conciinnitas*) was required by ancient critics, and observed by ancient writers. Sallust having chosen to represent in his narrative of this conspiracy the new and the old Roman element in the Senate, in the characters of Cæsar and Cato, now, in order to give them due prominence, and perhaps to justify himself for making them the principal speakers in a debate, in which so many others took part, pauses at the first crisis of his story to delineate the popular and oligarchical leaders severally. Mr. Dunlop, in his ‘History of Roman Literature’ (vol. ii. p. 160), observes of the following chapter: “The parallel drawn between Cato and Cæsar is one of the most celebrated passages in the history of the conspiracy. Of both these famed opponents we are presented with a favourable likeness. Their defects are thrown into the shade; and the bright qualities of each different species, by which they were distinguished, are contrasted for the purpose of showing the various qualities by which men arrive at eminence.”

LIV. *Genus, ætas, eloquentia, prope æqualia.*—The equality is scarcely accurate. The Julian family, if antiquity be an element of nobility, was nearly coeval with the Republic itself, and claimed to be descended from Venus and Anchises, the common ancestors of Rome and the Julii. On the contrary, the Porcii of Tusculum, of which the Catos were a branch, do not appear at Rome earlier than the third century before the Christian era. But though destined to furnish sovereigns to the Commonwealth, the Julia gens was less distinguished than the Cato branch of the Porcii in B.C. 62, since the latter had not only produced Cato the Censor, the opponent of the Scipios, but had also yielded on its double stem, Liciniana and Saloniana, many eminent servants to the State. Moreover, the plebeian ‘nobiles,’ to which Cato belonged, had long surpassed in wealth and influence the patrician caste, and Cæsar, no less than Sulla, though of noble blood, belonged to an obscured and decaying house. In Sallust's eyes Cato may therefore have seemed as nobly born as Cæsar. With respect to ‘ætas’ there was not much difference; Cæsar was then thirty-eight years of age, and Cato thirty-two. But the comparison wholly fails when we come to ‘eloquentia.’ We have already seen Quintilian's opinion of Cæsar as an orator. To eloquence, though he mixed

much in public affairs, Cato made no pretence, regarding it as his ancestor the Censor did, as an art better adapted to make the worse appear the better reason, than to promote or elicit truth. Sallust has by no means reported faithfully Cato's speech, at least if Plutarch can be relied on in his Life of the younger of the Catos (c. 23). The biographer affirms that a copy of the actual speech existed in his time. The authentic speech contained many sharp personalities against Cæsar, and much invective against Silanus, for his change of opinion, neither of which appear in Sallust's report of Cato's speech on this occasion.

*Gloria*.—Reputation.—*Alia alii*, sc. gloria.

*Integritate vite*.—Cato's honesty was so notorious that Velleius (ii. 45) speaks of it as superfluous, and even arrogant, in any one to commend him for it: ‘Cujus integritatem laudari nefas est.’ Comp. Tacitus, Agricola, c. 9: ‘Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit.’

*Mansuetudine et misericordia*.—Cæsar's humane and compassionate temper is thus commended by his biographer Suetonius (*Julius*, 27):—‘Reorum aut obæratorum, aut prodigæ juventutis subsidium unicum ac promptissimum erat: nisi quos gravior criminum vel inopie luxuriæve vis urgeret quam ut subveniri posset a se.’ Cicero writes to the same purpose, but with an intimation of political aims in Cæsar's sympathy and bounty; e.g. *Epist. ad Fam.* viii. 4: ‘Cæsar, qui solet infimorum hominum amicitiæ sibi qualibet impensa adjungere.’ *Philipp.* ii. 32: ‘Suos præmiis, adversarios clementiæ specie devinxerat’ [*Cæsar*].

*Facilitas*.—Easiness of approach, affability.

*Intentus*.—Intent upon, or occupied with, according as ‘negotii’ is the dative or ablative, the object or the instrument of action.

*Dono dignum*.—Not that which was good enough to be given, but what he could give with propriety.

*Cum innocentia abstinentia*.—Both have reference to money; for ‘abstinentia,’ see note on c. 12, *supra*.

*Esse quam videri bonus*.—So Æsch. (*Sept. Theb.* 589): Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει, the motto or scroll on the shield of Astacus, one of the Seven against Thebes.

*LV. Ne quid eo spatio novaretur*.—‘Lest any disturbance should take place in the interval;’ that is, during the night.

*Triumviro*s.—There were several kinds of ‘Triumviri,’ appointed for particular purposes; viz. ‘Tres viri capitales,’ the commissioners of capital punishment, answering to our Under-sheriff. ‘Tres viri mensariorum,’ commissioners of the public money, subject however to the Questors for the time being. ‘Tres viri monetales,’ commissioners of the Mint. They had the supervision of the coinage. The most important were the ‘tres viri capitales,’ mentioned here. They had under them the ‘Vindices rerum capitalium;’ the difference between the ‘Tres viri’ and the ‘Vindices’ being the same as exists between an under-sheriff and the common hangman.

*Ipse*.—Cicero himself; because, although he had abdicated, Cicero treated him as Praetor. Compare ‘Ipse manu tenens quod praetor erat,’ above.

*Idem fit ceteris per praetores*.—See c. 51, ‘Hostibus faciatis.’

*In carcere quod Tullianum appellatur*.—It was afterwards called Carcer Mamertinus, but not by the ancients. It consisted of two rooms, one above the other. The upper room was built, it is said, by Ancus Marcius,

the lower by Servius Tullius. The lower one contained a spring, and may have been used originally as a well-house. In this lower room Jugurtha was left to starve. At this day a church is built over it, in honour of St. Peter, who is said to have been imprisoned here. There was a hole in the roof through which criminals were let down, which may have served for the descent of the bucket. Plutarch (Cicero, c. 22) says that when the vote of death was passed, the principal senators formed themselves into a body-guard round the condemned, and escorted them from the Temple of Concord, all down the Sacred Way, to the prison under the Capitoline Hill, followed in silence by the whole people, the youth of the city looking on with especial awe, as on some great sacrifice.

*Ita ille patricius.*—Such historical summaries as the present, introduced at the death of distinguished persons, are comparatively rare in Sallust, but common in Livy, as Seneca (*Suasoria vi.*) remarks: ‘Quoties magni alicujus mors ab historicis narrata est, toties fere totius consummatio vite, et quasi funebris laudatio redditur. Hoc semel atque iterum a Thucydide factum, idem in paucissimis personis usurpatum a Sallustio. Livius benignius omnibus magnis viris prestigit. Sequentes historici multo id effusius fecerunt.’ The events which immediately followed the execution of the conspirators are not recorded by Sallust. They are thus narrated by subsequent writers, Plutarch, Appian, etc. When the last of the criminals had been strangled, Cicero, attended by a train of soldiers, senators, and equites, descended into the forum and announced to the silent and expectant multitude the close of the fourth act of this appalling tragedy. ‘Vixerunt,’—‘they have lived,’ he said, shunning the ill-omened words, ‘they are dead.’ ‘Vixerunt’ was echoed by the crowd which an hour before had been ready to burst open the prison-doors, but which, now abashed by the Consul’s firmness and promptitude, dispersed, after a few brief murmurs, to their homes. The whole body of the Senate and the Equestrian order conducted Cicero to his house; the streets blazed with torches; the windows and the house-tops were thronged with women and children, and thousands joined in the acclaim which Cato had prompted, and hailed the Consul ‘Father of his country.’ Juvenal, Sat. viii. 244:—

‘Sed Roma parentem,  
Roma patrem patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit.’

Yet it is difficult to understand how the Commonwealth could have been imperilled by allowing the culprits a trial according to law, or even permitting them to live after condemnation. Nor was it long before Cicero had cause to rue this arbitrary and hasty verdict. What could he expect from the men who voted Rabirius guilty for taking part in the death of Saturninus, a man actually in arms against the government. His position, originally insecure, was rendered more dangerous by his own inordinate vanity. He disgusted the Senate by his boasting; he offended Pompeius by the presumptuous comparison of the fall of Catiline with the fall of Mithridates, and he purchased an hour of triumph with exile, mortification, and ineffectual struggles against opposites too strong for mere eloquence to master.

The following passage, from an article in ‘The Westminster Review,’ 1855, is pertinent to this chapter of the Catilina:—

“On the night which sealed the doom of Catilina’s confederates, while the acclamations of the whole city, and the ‘All hail, Pater Patriæ!’ were still ringing in his ears, Cicero touched the highest point of all his

greatness, and, since for him to be the cynosure of all eyes was to be happy, of all his happiness also. He had indeed reached a proud eminence. In the very prime of manhood he had won for himself the highest station among the rulers of mankind. His was the ivory chair of Africanus, and his the rods and axes which for centuries had encompassed the Consul Romanus. He had not, indeed, like Paulus or Flaminius, annexed kingdoms to the Commonwealth, but, on the dark background of the tragedy which he had just consummated, he had inscribed his name in characters indelible as theirs.

" Yet, 'from the full meridian of his glory,' he might have discerned the instability of his position. He stood alone: by his position chief of the State, but in reality unsupported by either party or cause. He had crushed a formidable conspiracy, but he had also inflicted a deadly wound upon the law itself. He had served, but he had not conciliated the senatorian order; and he had departed from his first love—the moneyed class. The tenour of his future political life reveals the consciousness of his own weakness. Professing to regard the union of the orders as the one measure for rescuing the State from the vortex of its own factions, he was, in truth, anxious only to secure the support of Pompeius, and to that end to render himself of sufficient importance to the Captain-General of Rome. But in place of conciliating, he aroused the jealousy of the most vacillating of patrons, and his days were thenceforward embittered by the humiliations he underwent in suing for the support which he never obtained."

LVI. *Instituit*.—Makes a skeleton regiment, which he filled up as recruits poured in.

*Sparos*.—' Sparum,' a sort of javelin; ' sparus,' simply a staff. See Virg. *Aen.* ii. 682.

*Servitia repudiabat*.—We have already observed how very unwilling Catiline was to enlist slaves in his army.

*Alienum rationibus*.—' Foreign to his policy,' his policy being to make out that he and his party were unjustly excluded by a clique from the public honours. Compare c. 35: ' Sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam, meque falsa suspicione alienatum sentiebam.' The raising the slave population would have been fatal to this policy.

LVII. *In agrum Pistoriensem*.—The territory of Pistoia, in Etruria. Mr. Merivale mentions the fact that coins have been found buried in the neighbourhood of Pistoia bearing a date reaching down to this very year, which renders it probable that they were buried to elude the ravaging bands of Catiline.

*Galliam Transalpinam*.—The reading ' Cisalpinam' exists. It is possible that the original text contained ' Galliam' only. If ' Transalpinam' be the correct one, Catiline must have intended to go to the Allobroges, who would doubtless have joined him readily, oppressed as they were by debt. Though we have no reason for supposing that at present that people knew anything of the conspiracy.

*Ex difficultate*.—As a necessary result of the straits he was put to.

*In fuga*=Catilinam fugientem.

LVIII. *Verba virtutem non addere*.—Comp. Demosthenes, Περὶ τῆς Συντάξεως, c. 12: 'Εστι δὲ κεφάλαιον ἀπόντων τῶν εἰρημένων· οὐδέ ποθὲ ὅμιλοι λέγοντες, οὔτε πονηρούσι οὔτε χρηστούσι ποιήσουσιν' and Jugurtha, c. 85, 'Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent.'

*Timor animi auribus officit*.—Comp. Jugurtha, c. 57; ' Sed nec illos

*timor animi satis muniverat*, which latter passage shows that ‘timor’ must be construed with ‘animi.’

*Alienas opes expectaret*.—Cicero, Pro Quinct. c. 15: ‘Alienas opes, id quod miserrimum est expectare.’ Jugurth. c. 14: ‘Alienas opes expecto.’

*Nemo nisi victor*.—Those who exchange peace for war are those who feel that they shall win.

*Ea vero dementia est*.—That is mere infatuation.

*Amittatis*.—‘That ye let not go your hold on life for nothing;’ not simply ‘lose’ (perdo), but let your lives be lost. Supply ‘ne.’

*Sicuti pecora trucidemini*.—Livy, xxviii. 16: ‘Inde non jam pugna, sed trucidatio velut pecorum fieri.’

LIX. *Signa canere jubet*.—The full phrase occurs in Jugurtha, c. 99: ‘Marius jubet tibcines simul omnes signa canere.’

*Instructos ordines*.—His troops as they were drawn up in marching order.—*In æquum*, upon the level ground.

*Remotis omnium equis*.—Cæsar did the like on one occasion: see Bell. Gall. i. 25. And immediately before the battle of Barnet, Warwick the King-maker, ‘quo militibus, exæquato prælio, animus amplior esset,’ killed his war-horse in the presence of his soldiers.

*Inter sinistros*.—‘*Inter*=‘citra,’ within, ‘on this side of the hills to the left, and as on the right there was a precipitous rock.’

*Arctius*.—In closer array than in front, in order that the imperfectly armed, with ‘spari et lanceæ’ (c. 56), might not outflank the maniples, ‘militaribus armis instructos.’

*Evocatos*.—The ‘evocati’ were veterans who had served out their time, but had been attracted again to their standard, either by the popularity of a commander, the necessities of the State, or the offer of higher pay. Catiline’s ‘evocati’ were doubtless Sulla’s old soldiers, impoverished by their own extravagance, or weary of peace.

*Fæsulanum quendam*.—Plutarch says P. Furius, who was included in the sentence of condemnation (see c. 50, *supra*). Cicero (Catilin. iii. 6) mentions Furius as one of the military colonists placed at Fæsulæ by Sulla.

*Curare*.—To take the command. Comp. Jugurtha, cc. 46, 57.

*Propter aquilam*.—This eagle had belonged to one of Marius’s legions, and was much prized by Catiline. See Cicero, Catilin. i. 9: ‘Aquilam illam argenteam quam tibi et tuis omnibus perniciosa esse confido et funestam futuram; cui domi tuæ sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit.’ Probably some secret history attached to this eagle has been lost. We know however that the Roman soldiers regarded their standards with feelings akin to religious sentiments. Comp. Tacitus, Annals, i. 39: ‘Signa et aquilam amplexus religione sese tutabatur.’

*Bello Cimbrico*.—B.C. 104–101.

*C. Antonius*.—This was considered at the time a pretended fit of gout on the part of Antonius. He had sold his friend for the province of Macedonia, but could not bring himself to be Catiline’s executioner.—*M. Petreio*. This is the first mention of Petreius in history, though he had previously served more than thirty years in the army, in the usual grades of centurion, tribune, prefect, etc. In b.c. 59 he appears on political ground, an active partisan of Cato and the anti-Cæsarian party: in b.c. 49 he was in Spain with L. Afranius, commanding the Senatorian army against Cæsar, to whom he was obliged, after some success on the Sacris (*Segre*), to surrender. He was dismissed unharmed, but followed the fortunes of Pompeius and his sons in Greece and Africa, until, after the rout

of his party at Thapsus, he fled with Juba to the neighbourhood of Zama, where, despairing of further pardon from Cæsar, they fell by each other's hands (Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 42–100; Hirtius, Bell. Afric. 18–94).

*Tumulti*.—Gen. like ‘senati,’ etc. ‘Tumultus’ is an extraordinary levy of troops on a sudden emergency, as opposed to ‘delectus,’ the ordinary enrolment for a war. In the latter none were enlisted younger than seventeen or older than forty-five years; in the former all hands were called out, ‘veterani evocati,’ etc. Cicero, Philipp. viii. 1 foll.: ‘Potest esse bellum sine tumultu, tumultus esse sine bello non potest. Quid est enim aliud tumultus nisi perturbatio tanta, ut major timor oriatur? unde etiam nomen ductum est tumultus. Itaque majores nostri *tumultum Italicum*, quod erat domesticus; *tumultum Gallicum*, quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum, nominabant. Gravius autem tumultum esse quam bellum hinc intelligi licet, quod bello vacationes valent, tumultu non valent.’ ‘Tumulti causa’ accordingly emphatically marks the gravity of the present crisis.

*Homo militaris*.—See note on ‘homines militares,’ c. 45, *supra*.

LX. *Ferentariis*.—Light troops armed with javelins or slings and stones. Archers were not employed in the Roman armies until a much later period.

*Pila omittunt . . . geritur*.—Of the *pilum* Gibbon (Decline and Fall, c. i.) remarks, ‘Besides a lighter spear, the legionary soldier grasped in his right hand the formidable *pilum*, a ponderous javelin, whose utmost length was about six feet, and which was terminated by a massy triangular point of steel of eighteen inches. This instrument was indeed much inferior to our modern fire-arms; since it was exhausted by a single discharge, at a distance of only ten or twelve paces. Yet, when it was launched by a firm and skilful hand, there was not any cavalry that durst venture within its reach, nor any shield or corslet that could sustain the impetuosity of its weight. As soon as the Roman had darted his *pilum*, he drew his sword, and rushed forward to close with the enemy: it was a short, well-tempered blade, and was alike suited for the purpose of striking or of pushing; but the soldier was always instructed to prefer the latter use of his weapon, as his own body remained less exposed, while he inflicted a more dangerous wound upon his adversary.’

*Strenui militis et boni imperatoris*.—In the hand-to-hand combats of troops like the phalanx and the legion, not obscured by the smoke of artillery, and armed with very imperfect projectiles, the principal officer necessarily fought more frequently in the front ranks than would be consistent with the duties of a modern General. On this occasion, indeed, despair prompted the native valour of Catiline, and as he had exhorted his followers to do, ‘ne inulti animam amittatis’ (c. 52), he was determined to sell his own life dearly. Yet we find Cæsar exposing himself at Munda and Thapsus with equal recklessness, nor until artillery came into general use was it often possible for a commander to abstain from actual combat. Velleius (ii. 18) says of Mithridates that he was ‘Consiliis dux, miles manu;’ and Florus, iv. 2: ‘Multus in eo prælio Cæsar fuit.’ Indeed all the battles of antiquity partook in some measure of a Homeric combat, or of the nature of a war where the Suzerain personally led his vassals to the field, and the General, like Agamemnon, was

<sup>2</sup>Αμφότερον βασιλεὺς τὸ ἀγαθὸν κρατερός τὸ αἰχμητής,

a verse which Alexander the Great accounted the best in the Iliad.

*Utrumque ex lateribus*.—By a flank movement on either side. Therefore, as Catiline’s army occupied the *planities* or level ground, the soldiers

of Petreius must, during the action, have established themselves on the hills to the left ('sinistros montes'), and the steep ascent ('rupes aspera') to the right of the enemy.

*Fæsulanus.*—'Fæsulanum quendam,' from which it again appears that Sallust did not know his name.—*In primis.* In the front of the battle.

*Pristinæ dignitatis.*—Not remembering merely any especial office he had held, such as the prætorship, but his whole career, as a favoured partisan of Sulla's, the chief of a faction in Rome, the observed of all observers, whether from hope or hatred. In his description of the death of Warwick, at Barnet, Shakespeare has described such a reminiscence of past honour and greatness as Sallust curtly intimates in these words, 'Memor generis atque pristinæ suaे dignitatis.'

' My blood, my want of strength, my sick heart shows  
 That I must yield my body to the earth  
 And, by my fall, the conquest to my foe.  
 Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge  
 Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle.  
 These eyes that now are dimm'd with death's black veil  
 Have been as piercing as the midday sun  
 To search the secret treasons of the world :  
 The wrinkles in my brows, now filled with blood,  
 Were likened oft to kingly sepulchres ;  
 For who lived king, but I could dig his grave ?  
 And who durst smile when Warwick bent his brow ?  
 Lo ! now my glory smeared in dust and blood !  
 My parks, my walks, my manors that I had  
 E'en now forsake me ; and of all my lands  
 Is nothing left me but my body's length.'

Henry VI. third part, act v. sc. 2.

LXI. *Tum vero.*—Then and not before. Florus, iv. 4: 'Quam atrociter dimicatum sit, exitus docuit.'

*Nam fere . . . tegebatur.*—'For, in most cases, the post which each in life had taken to fight in, that, when life was extinct, his body covered.' Florus, iv. 4, copies Sallust: 'Nemo hostium bello superfuit; quem quisque in pugnando locum ceperat, eum amissa anima corpore tegebatur;' and Justin also (ix. 3), speaking of the Grecian army at Chæroneia, had this passage in his memory: 'Non tamen immemores pristinæ gloriæ cecidere; quippe, adversis vulneribus, omnes loca, quæ tuenda a ducibus acceperant, morientes corporibus texerant.' Polybius, indeed (i. 45), had written many years earlier, Τέλος ἐν αὐταῖς μένοντες ταῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς χώραις, ἀπέθνησκον.

*Catilina . . . retinens.*—Velleius, in describing the death of the Samnite General, Pontius Telesinus (ii. 27), appears to have remembered Sallust in this passage: 'Telesinus postero die semianimis repertus est, victoris magis quam morientis vultum præferens.'

*Juxta.*—See note on c. 2, *supra*, and comp. Thucyd. i. 70: Τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρῶνται.

*Volventes hostilia cadavera.*—Appian, Bell. Civ. iii., gives a similar and affecting description of the incidents of civil war.

*Lætitia, luctus.*—The feelings of joy or sorrow.—*Gaudia, mæror,* their outward expression by rejoicing or wailing aloud. Cicero, Tuscul. iv. 8: 'Luctus ægritudo ex ejus qui carus fuerit interitu acerbo. Mæror ægritudo flebilis.'

## NOTES ON THE BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

I. *Contra*.—On the contrary.—*Nam contra reputando*. ‘For, on the contrary, if you consider the matter you will find,’ etc. Obs. double construction with ‘invenies’; simple acc. and acc. before inf.

*Industriam*.—Exertion.

*Dux atque imperator*.—Sallust is very fond of this simile. Compare ‘animi imperio,’ Cat. c. 1; ‘rector humani generis,’ infra, c. 2. ‘Hæc Stoicorum magniloquentiam sapiunt,’ says Gerlach.

*Grassatur*.—Freq. of ‘gradior.’ Mr. Merivale gives the following definition of this verb. It signifies (1) idling, lounging, hanging on or about; (2) applies to parasites who fawn upon the great (‘grassari antiqui pro adulari ponebant,’ Festus); to ruffians who infest the highway; (3) to undertaking any enterprise, in a good or bad sense, especially with zeal or resolution. Generally intransitive; followed by ‘in’ or ‘ad’ sometimes.

*Pollens potensque*.—One of many instances where Sallust uses two words in conjunction, with little difference of meaning. Livy, i. 24: ‘Tantoque magis ferito (porcum ferum) quanto potes pollesque.’ Comp. Pl. Asin. iii. 46.

*Pessum datus*.—It should not be written as one word. ‘Pessum’ is a substantive =  $\beta\nu\sigma\sigma\delta s$ . Translate, ‘Has sunk into an abyss of sloth and animal gratification.’

*Sin captus . . . accusatur*.—Observe the change of construction. ‘But if a man, a prey to base desires, has sunk into an abyss of sloth and sensuality, and if, when he has indulged his pernicious appetites for a short season, he has lost through his want of exertion his strength, his time, and his abilities, the infirmity of nature bears the blame.’

*Per secordiam*.—In opposition to ‘industriam’ above.

*Quod si . . . fierent*.—‘But if the care for things that are good, among men, were equal to their zeal in seeking for things that do not concern them, and will profit them nothing, ay, and in many cases dangerous things, then would they not be governed by, so much as govern circumstances, and would arrive at such a pitch of greatness that, in the place of being mere mortal men, they would in renown become immortal?’

II. *Anima*.—For ‘animo.’ See note on Cat. c. 1.

*Igitur . . . agunt*.—‘Now great beauty, much riches, add to which, bodily strength, all such things in a short time pass away, but the excellent productions of the mind are like the soul, immortal. Lastly, personal advantages and those of fortune, as they have a beginning so have they an end, and they all rise and set, increase to maturity and fall into decay. The mind is incorruptible, eternal, the guider of the human race. It rules everything, possesses everything, but is itself possessed of

none. Wherefore their perversity is the rather to be wondered at who, given up to bodily enjoyment, pass their days in luxury and idleness.'

*Gaudiis*.—Rare in the sense of *bodily pleasure*.

*Artes animi*.—The occupations that engage the intellect (*Merivale*).

*III. Cupienda videntur*.—Comp. c. 3 and 4 of Cat.

*Honos*.—‘Civic honours;’ equivalent to our expression ‘place.’

*Vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes*. — Mr. Merivale takes ‘parentes’ to mean ‘subjects’ in this passage; adding, ‘the disjunctive “aut” marks an opposition between the two objects.’ He compares, infra, c. 102: ‘Parentes abunde habemus, amicorum nunquam satis fuit.’ Havercamp takes it in the sense it is found in Cat. c. 6, infra, c. 87, namely, of parents or relations, and compares a passage in the Crito of Plato, ii. 161: Βιάζεσθαι δ' οὐχ ὅσιον οὔτε μητέρα οὔτε πατέρα, πολὺ δὲ τούτων ἔτι ἡπττον τὴν πατρίδα· and Cic. ad Fam. i. ep. ix. 44: ‘Id enim jubet Plato . . . vim neque parenti neque patriæ afferre.’

*Importunum*.—Unprofitable.

*Gratificari*.—To sacrifice. ‘*Gratificari odiis*,’ Tac. Ann. iv. 19.

*IV. Quæ ingenio exercentur*.—‘*Artes animi*,’ c. 2; ‘with which mind occupies itself.’

*In primis . . . gestarum*.—Comp. ‘*pulchrum est bene facere*,’ etc., Cat. c. 3; ‘the recording of events.’

*Insolentiam*.—This word, in cc. 41, 94, infra, is used as ‘insolens’ in Cat. c. 3. Here it means ‘vanity.’

*Studium*.—‘*Ne nimio amore antiqui moris studium meum extollere viderer*’ (Tac. An. xiv. 43).

*Quia decrevi . . . agere*.—So Cat. c. 4, ‘*Et mihi reliquam ætatem a republica procul habendam decrevi*.’

*Magistratus*.—Sallust was *Quæstor* about B.C. 59; *Tribune of the Plebs*, B.C. 52; and *Prætor*, B.C. 47. He was expelled from the Senate in the year B.C. 50.

*Quæ genera . . . pervenerint*.—This statement is worth little from a man who was turned out of the Senate.

*Scilicet*.—Kritz puts the reflections that follow, in the mouth of Scipio and the other ‘*præclarri viri*,’ not as coming from Sallust.

*His moribus*.—In the present state of public morals.

*Altiusque*.—‘*Into deep water*,’ into the sea of discussion.

*V. Varia victoria*.—Abl. case: ‘with alternate victory and defeat on either side.’

*Oviam itum*.—Was made head against.

*Uti . . . faceret*.—That the rage of civil commotion ended in war and the devastation of Italy. Comp. Lucan Pharsal. iv. 687.

*Expedio*.—So Ter. Eun. iv. 4, 17: ‘*Agedum hoc mihi expedi; primum unde habes istam vestem?*’ ‘Come, resolve me this question.’

*Pauca supra repetam*.—See note on Cat. c. 5.

*Omnia illustria*.—Clear for all to see. ‘*Factum illustre notumque omnibus*’ (Cic. Verr. ii. 15, 12).

*Post magnitudinem nominis Romani*.—Comp. Cat. c. 5: ‘*Hunc post dominationem*,’ etc.

*Syphace*.—Syphax became an ally of the Romans about B.C. 214; and subsequently (207) he, however, for the sake of Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal, went over to the Carthaginians, his former enemies. He was defeated and taken prisoner B.C. 203, but appears to have died before Scipio’s triumph.

*Magnum atque late.*—Both used adverbially. So ‘subdolus,’ Jug. c. 38; ‘quietus,’ Jug. c. 52. So Virg. G. iii. 28: ‘*Magnumque fluentem Nilum.*’

*Imperii vitæque.*—‘His sway ended with his life.’ Corte, followed by Mr. Merivale, explains this by saying that the grants made to him by the Romans reverted to them when he died, and refers ‘solus’ to ‘regnum;’ but the meaning surely is, ‘his sway ended only with his life.’ Then his son Micipsa obtained the kingdom *alone*, for his brothers were carried off by disease, the custom being to divide the kingdom, as Micipsa in fact did to *his* sons.

*Reliquerat.*—Gerlach reads ‘*dereliquerat*’ in preference to the simple verb, as does Kritz. The compound verb expresses contempt.

VI. *Luxu.*—Dat. So ‘*usu*,’ Jug. c. 16; ‘*exercitu*,’ Jug. c. 39. Comp. Virg. G. iv. 198: ‘*Quod neque concubitu indulgent.*’ This form of the dative is found also in Caesar and Cicero.

*Exacta . . . liberis.*—‘Being himself of an advanced age, while his children were young.’

*Negotio.*—‘By that circumstance?’ ‘negotium’ for ‘res.’ So ‘ad negotia’ in c. 1 above, and ‘de ullo negotio,’ c. 84 below.

*Multa cum animo suo volvebat.*—This is a very common phrase in the Jugurtha; ‘cum animo’ for ‘in animo.’ Compare Jug. c. 9 and 13, ‘*Cum animo reputans*;’ c. 70 and 93, ‘*Trahere cum animo*;’ c. 108, ‘*Cum animo volvere*.’

*Transversos agit.*—‘Drives them off the right on to the wrong road.’ Comp. c. 14 below.

*In Jugurtham accensa.*—Tacitus copies this expression, An. iii. 4: ‘*Studia hominum accensa in Agrippinam.*’

VII. *Sævitia.*—Prowess. ‘Sævus’ is frequently found in this sense in the Latin poets. Virg. Æn. i. 99, ‘*Sævus ubi Æacideæ telis jacet Hector*;’ Æn. xi. 910, ‘*Et sævum Æneam agnovit Turnus in armis.*’ So also Lucan, vi. 560: ‘*At quoties sævis opus est ac fortibus umbris.*’

*Ut erat impigro.*—Comp. ‘ut erat ad dissimulanda,’ etc., in Cat. c. 31.

*Difficillimum in primis.*—For this redundancy Mr. Merivale compares Cic. in Verr. iii. 27: ‘*Homini in primis improbissimo.*’

VIII. *Clari magis quam honesti.*—Havercamp compares Livy, viii. 27, ‘*Clari magis inter populares quam honesti;*’ and Tac. H. ii. 101, ‘*Vibius Crispus inter claros magis quam inter bonos.*’ ‘Men of greater note than worth.’

*In prætorium.*—‘Into the imperator’s tent.’

*Abduxit.*—This reading is more in accordance with the phrase ‘*ibi secreto monuit*,’ than ‘*adduxit*,’ as some editors read.

*Publice . . . privatim.*—‘By public benefits, by private gifts.’

*Quibus.*—Any one.

*Periculose.*—‘It was a dangerous thing that the property of the many should be bought at the hands of the few.’

*Ultero venturum.*—Æneid, ii. 193: ‘*Ultero Asiam magno Pelopeia ad moenia bello Venturam.*’ ‘*Venio*’ is used of unforeseen events. ‘*Ultero*’ does not mean ‘of its own accord,’ which is ‘*sponte*;’ it means ‘beyond what is expected.’ It may frequently be translated by ‘actually.’ ‘*Asiam*’ will go so far as to come, will *actually* come.

IX. *Earum . . . erat.*—‘The purport of it was as follows.’

*Ita esse.*—‘Is the case.’

*Beneficiis vincere.*—To conquer by acts of kindness.

*Statimque.*—‘Que’ seems equivalent to ‘eoque’ in this passage; ‘and accordingly.’

*Paucos post annos.*—In less than three years. Comp. c. 11: ‘Tribus proximis annis adoptione in regnum pervenisse’ (sc. Jugurtham).

X. *Parvum*, etc.—This, as we have seen, is not true, and Jugurtha was aware of it also. See the commencement of c. 11.

*Si genuissem.*—Duruzoir, in his edition, observes that these words, ‘si genuissem,’ point to the fact that Jugurtha had lost his father and was adopted by Micipsa before any sons were born to the latter.

*Falsum habuit.*—‘Nor have I been mistaken in you.’

*Per regni fidem.*—i.e. ‘Per eam fidem qua esse decet eum qui regnum obtinet;’ ‘on the word of a king.’

*Non exercitus*, etc.—This passage is an imitation of Xen. Cyrop. viii. 7: Οὐ τόδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διδούσον ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον.

*Si tuis hostis.*—Comp. Plaut. Pœnul. v. 4, 43, for the dative after ‘hostis.’

*Nam . . . dilabuntur.*—This looks like a proverb.

*Ante hos.*—‘Beyond,’ not ‘before.’ Comp. Cat. c. 53: ‘Gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse.’

*Qui ætate . . . es.*—The superior in age and wisdom. ‘Qui ætate . . . sis’ would have been equivalent to ‘for that you are their superior.’

*Nam in omni*, etc.—‘In every dispute (between the people) the man who is possessed of the greatest resources, though he be the injured party, yet, because the balance of power is on his side, in the eyes of the world he is the offending party.’

*Talem virum.*—So Jug. c. 63: ‘Tamen, is ad id locorum talis vir.’

XI. *Pro tempore.*—‘Suitable to the occasion.’ So, ‘pro factis,’ Cat. c. 51; ‘pro tempore,’ Jug. c. 74.

*Illi.*—Scil. Micipsæ; dativus commodi.

*Reguli.*—‘Reguli,’ perhaps on account of their subdivided empire. Māsinissa is called ‘rex’ in c. 5: ‘Regi dono dedit.’

*Minimus.*—Scil. ‘natū,’ ‘the youngest.’ We might supply ‘filius,’ as Liv. i. 53: ‘Sextus filius ejus qui minimus ex tribus erat.’

*Antea.*—‘Previously,’ ‘before now.’

*Dextra Adherbalem.*—It does not quite appear why Adherbal placed himself on the left-hand; his place was to the right of the seat of honour. It is possible that he expected Hiempsal would not be content with the lowest place, and therefore took it himself, hoping that then Hiempson would not dispute the middle place with Jugurtha. For the middle place as the seat of honour among the Numidians, see Virg. Aen. i. 701:—

‘Aulæis jam se regina superbis  
Aurea composuit sponda, mediamque locavit.’

Mr. Merivale observes that it was the case, at least at a later period, at Rome; for the emperor took his seat between the consuls for the year. Adherbalem is governed by the preposition ‘ad’ in the verb. Comp. Cat. c. 53, for ‘adsido.’

*Jacet.*—Throws out a suggestion.

*Ipsum illum.*—‘The very author of the proposition,’ Jugurtha.

*Adoptione.*—More commonly ‘adoptio.’ Cic. uses it, however, Tusc. c. i. 14: ‘Adoptiones filiorum.’

*Procedunt.*—i.q. ‘Ex voto eveniunt.’ Comp. Cat. c. 1.

XII. *Loca propinqua thesauris*.—Strongly fortified cities, where the royal treasure was deposited.

*Thirmida*.—This place is not known.

*Proximus lictor*.—The ‘proximus lictor’ was the one nearest to the magistrate; the last of the lictors, who preceded the magistrate; ‘proximus,’ nearest to his person, so conveying the idea of great confidence. Most translators consider this expression to be after the usual custom of Roman writers, who transfer their own terms to foreign officers. Duruzoir, however, considers that Sallust, with his personal knowledge of the manners and customs of Africa, would not have used it without intention; and adds that the Romans had bestowed on Masinissa, for his signal services, all the insignia of the curule magistracies, and that Masinissa had introduced into Numidia some of the institutions of Rome. This seems to be mere conjecture, there being no authority given for such a statement.

*Claves adulterinas*.—Comp. Cic. Cluent. 14, ‘Testamentum signis adulterinis;’ Cic. Off. iii. 23, ‘Adulterinos nummos.’

*Referebantur*.—‘Imperfecto Sallustius utitur ad indicandum toties claves ad Hiempsalem relatas esse quoties clausis ædibus opus esset;’ ‘were carried back as often as made use of.’

*Ut doctus erat*.—‘As he was instructed.’ See c. 51, 103.

*Tugurio*.—The derivation of this word is uncertain; some refer it to ‘tego, tectum, toga.’ In inscriptions it is spelt ‘Tegurium’: see Orelli, Inscr. Lat. No. 1773. ‘Tuguria sunt domicilia rusticorum sordida.’ Varro, R. R. iii. 1, says: ‘Quod tempus si referas ad illud principium, quo agri coli sunt coepti atque in casis atque tuguriis habitabant nec murus nec porta quid esset, sciebant,’ etc. Virg. Ecl. i. 69:—

‘Pauperis et tuguri congestum cespite culmen.’

Pomp. in Pandectt. 1, xvi. 180: ‘Tugurii adpellatione omne ædificium quod rusticæ magis custodiæ convenient, quam urbanis ædificiis significatur.’

*Mulieris ancilla*.—This redundancy of expression is by no means uncommon. Sallust uses it in Cat. c. 31, ‘homines adolescentes,’ and in Cat. c. 42, ‘homines adolescentul.’ Comp. also Jug. c. 6, ‘hominem adolescentem;’ Ter. And. iv. 4, 16, ‘mulier meretrix;’ Phor. ii. 1, 62, ‘homo servus.’ Compare also such usages as ‘ancile scutum,’ ‘mare Oceanum,’ ‘rete Jaculum;’ and in Cic. Div. vii. 22, ‘homo gladiator.’

XIII. *Voluntate*.—‘Of their own free wits.’

*De cæde fratris et fortunis suis*.—The preposition is not repeated, owing to the closeness of connection between the two ideas. Comp. Cat. c. 49, ‘per Allobrogos aut per alium,’ where prep. must be retained.

*Provinciam*.—*Scil.* ‘Africæ,’ the conquered territory of Carthage. Comp. for the use of ‘provinciam’ by itself, cc. 26, 39, and 62 of this book.

*In otio*, etc.—‘Turning over in his mind in the (succeeding) leisure time what he had done.’

*Quemcumque*.—Probably for ‘quoscunque.’ Comp. Liv. i. 53: ‘In se ipsum postremo sæviturum si alia desint.’ Compare the use of ‘nihil’ for ‘nullus,’ Cic. Div. iv. 4, ‘Nec id, victoris vitio, quo nihil moderatius;’ Hor. Carm. ii. 16, 27, ‘Nihil est ab omni parte beatum.’

*Ne cunctentur*.—i.e. ‘No man,’ sc. ‘largiri.’

*Hospitibus*.—The πρόξενος of the Numidians at Rome.

*Tanta commutatio*.—Such a revulsion of feeling.

*Senatus datur*.—An audience of the Senate is given them.

XIV. *Procuratione*.—In the light of a deputed authority.

*Jus et imperium*.—The ‘sumnum jus summumque imperium’ lay with the Senate. ‘My legal right to dominion and my authority rests with you.’

*Præcepta agitarem*.—‘Agitare præcepta’ est totus esse in præceptis observandis.

*Sustinet* bears with it a notion of difficulty and pains. Ovid, Metamorphoses, ii. 296 :—

‘Atlas ipse laborat  
Vixque suis humeris cudentem sustinet axem.’

Comp. Plaut. Poen. p. 96 :—

‘Homini si leno est homo,  
Quantum hominum terra sustinet sacerrimo.’

*Ab stirpe*.—By descent.

*Secundum ea*.—We must understand a second ‘ea’ with ‘desideranda.’ Other editors prefer placing the comma after ‘secundum.’ Cic. in Vatin. 6 : ‘Secundum ea quæro.’ For ‘secundum’ alone after ‘maxime,’ Kritz compares Cic. Philipp. viii. 16.

*Debitis*.—Due on account of his services.

*Mihi in manu fuit*.—‘It was not in my power to make Jugurtha this character or that.’ Ter. Hec. vi. 4, 44 : ‘Uxor quis faciat in manu non est mea.’ Comp. Plaut. Poen. iv. 2, 90; Trinum. i. 2, 67. See also, below in this chapter, ‘Uti tuti simus in m. v. est.’

*Quorum*.—‘Hoc relativum per synesin ad “familia nostra” refertur, quasi dixisset, majores nostri.’ Comp. Cat. c. 2.

*Huccine*, etc.—This is the end of all your kindnesses.

*Parem cum liberis*.—This is not a usual construction with ‘par;’ examples however are found. Cic. Brut. 59 : ‘Erant ei quædam ex his paria cum Crasso.’ Comp. also Cic. Philip. i. 14.

*Is potissimum*.—He of all people in the world; he *par excellence*.

*Jure*.—‘Of necessity,’ ‘in the natural course of things.’ Cic. Tusc. iii. 14 : ‘Jure erat Socratis idem vultus, quum mentis nulla fieret mutatio.’

*Nisi forte quem*.—These words are to be taken together. Had ‘nisi forte’ been joined to the rest, the verb would have been in the indicative mood. ‘Here and there one.’

*Efferens*.—Old form of ‘efferens.’

*Atque eodem*.—‘And more than that, a kinsman of his.’

*In imperio vestro*.—‘Where you command.’ Comp. Cat. c. 2 : ‘In magna copia’ = ‘quum magna copia sit.’

*Extorrem*, etc.—‘Efficit’ governs ‘extorrem,’ and the construction with ‘ut’ and the subjunctive.

*Cooperatum*.—Comp. Cat. c. 23, note.

*Prædicantem*.—‘Openly declaring.’ Comp. Cat. c. 48. ‘It was a favourite boast of my father, and I used to think,’ etc.

*Concessit*.—i.e. ‘Se naturæ.’

*Quæ ... incolumia*.—i.q. ‘Quos, incolumes;’ as ‘quæcunque’ for ‘quos-cunque’ above.

*Quæ aut amisi*.—Those he had let depart: from his want of popularity.

*Ex necessariis*=‘ex proximis cognatisque.’ He could not say ‘amisit’ of these, because he had no power to keep or lose them.

*Quo accedam (ad genua)?*—‘At whose feet shall I fall?’ Mr. Merivale quotes Ennius in Cic. Tusc. iii. 19: ‘Arce et urbe orba sum, quo accidam? quo applicem?’ Suet. Jul. 20: ‘Ut ad genua ultro sibi accideret.’ Senec. Troad.: ‘Ad genua accido supplex.’

*Aliquando.*—‘At some time or other.’ ‘Aliquando’ should not be translated by ‘at any time,’ nor ‘aliquis’ by ‘any.’

*Fingere me verba.*—They say that I am making false statements.’

*Quod utinam.*—‘I only wish.’ ‘Quod,’ Mr. Merivale observes, loses its pronominal force with ‘si,’ ‘utinam,’ ‘uti,’ etc.

*Immaturo.*—Premature.

*Unde minime decuit* = ‘a quo,’ at whose hands.

*Cujus.*—Agreeing with ‘ipse,’ as though ‘an regno consulam’ made no part of the sentence.

*Opibus alienis.*—Comp. Cat. c. 58.

*Emori.*—‘Omnino mori,’ or ‘statim mori.’

*Neu* = neve.—‘And would that I might not be esteemed a worthy object of contempt.’

*Per scelus.*—Kritz makes ‘per scelus’ equivalent to an adverb, to be taken with ‘tabescere.’

*Tabescere.*—To consume away.

XV. *Ulro bellum inferentem.*—‘Going out of his way to make war.’ See c. 8, *ad finem*, for ‘ultra.’

*Cognitus esset.*—‘Had proved himself to be.’ So ‘re cognita,’ Cat. c. 35.

*Ponerent.*—*sc.* ‘Senatores,’ understood in ‘senatus.’ See Drakenborch on Livy, iv. 48, for this use. Compare Cic. Off. i. 24: ‘Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem.’

*Utrique.*—The legati of Jugurtha and Adherbal.

*Contemnere.*—‘To hold up to contempt.’

*Bonum et æquum.*—Kritz says: “Eodem modo hæc duo vocabula conjunguntur apud Terent. Heaut. iv. 1, 99: ‘Quid cum illis agas qui neque jus neque bonum et æquum sciunt;’ id. Adelph. v. 9, 30, ‘Id non fieri ex vera vita neque adeo ex æquo et bono.’” ‘Bonum,’ *i.q.* ‘honestum.’ Translate, ‘That which is consistent with honour and equity.’

*Emilius Scaurus.*—The conqueror of the Ligurians. He made the Emilian Way from Pisæ to Luna, and thence to Dertona. He was a great aristocrat, and a foe to all popular movements. He was accused by Varius (a Tribune) of attempting to raise a rebellion among the Italians (B.C. 90); but Scaurus indignantly demanded if the word of a Spaniard was to be placed against that of the Princeps Senatus. The answer was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and the prosecution dropped. He was Consul with M. Caecilius Metellus, in B.C. 115. Cicero was a great admirer of Scaurus, but says (De Orat. ii. 70) that he was an avaricious man.

*Polluta.*—‘Idem est atque feeda ac detestabilis.’ Shameless, detestable.

*Invidiam.*—Odium against himself.

*Consueta lubidine.*—*sc.* ‘Divitiarum.’

XVI. *Tamen.*—‘In spite of the influence of Scaurus and his party.’

*L. Opimius.*—This is the L. Opimius who opposed so bitterly the Agrarian laws of C. Gracchus. By him the latter, with Fulvius, was put to death. At a subsequent period he was banished by the people for having received bribes from Jugurtha.

*In amicis.*—Kritz, followed by many editors, reads ‘in inimicis,’ which

certainly agrees more with the context. The MSS. however give 'in amicis,' which is followed by Corte as well as Gerlach.

*Fama, fide.*—These ablatives depend on the verb 'anteferret,' which contains the force of a comparative. Comp. Cic. Pro Balbo, viii., 'Quum magna pars libertatem civitate anteferret;' and Jug. c. 62, 'Omnia bello potiora duceret.' Others read 'famæ, fide' = 'fidei.'

*Mauretaniam.*—'The north-western parts of Africa, modern Fez and Morocco. At this period the river Mulucha, now Mulyiah, constituted the boundary of Mauretania and Numidia,' Merivale, p. 139.

*Illam alteram.*—That you know of, as it lay around the Roman province.

*Portuosior.*—'Possessing the greater number of harbours,' inasmuch as it lay more along the coast of the Mediterranean.

XVII. *Postulare videtur . . . exponere.*—For this use of a Greek idiom compare Jug. c. 19, 'Alio properare tempus monet'; Cat. c. 52, 'Conjurare patriam incendere.' So Tac. Ann. vi. 45, and Tac. Ann. xi. 29.

*Frequentata.*—Quæ raro adeuntur.

*De his, etc.*—'I should have great difficulty in relating anything as certainly known.'

*In divisione, etc.*—'The majority of geographers have made Africa a third part of the globe; there were others who divided the globe into two parts, Asia and Europe.' Kritz observes that Sallust has thought more of the sense than of strict grammatical construction in this passage. With reference to 'posuere in t. p.' and 'posuere esse,' comp. Lucan, ix. 411. The division into three parts, says Mr. Keightley, is that of Herod. (iv. 41), Polyb. (iii. 37), Strabo (i. ii. *passim*), Mela, Pliny, and others. The division into two parts only is that of Plato, Gorg. (523), Isocrates (Panegyr. 48), Varro (R. R. 1, 2).

*Fretum, etc.*—Straits of Gades.

*Nostrum maris.*—'Mare internum,' the Mediterranean.

*Declivem latitudinem.*—'The broad expanse of the eastern slope of the globe,' Merivale. This slope lay to the east of Cyrene. Kritz compares Mela, i. 1, 'Deinde a Catabathmo continuus est in Agyptum descensus'; Mela, i. 8, 'Catabathmus vallis devexa in Agyptum finit Africam.'

*Arbore infecundus.*—Compare for the reading 'arbore,' Tac. Ann. xiii. 57, 'Flumen gignendo sale fecundum'; Georg. ii. 222, 'Illa ferox oleo.'

*Interiere.*—Aor. as in chap. 10 of Catiline. Comp. for the description, Luc.

*Plerosque obtinet.*—This is an unusual construction; we should expect 'apud plerosque,' or 'plerumque.' For the construction with 'obtineo' compare Liv. xxi. 46.

*Nobis . . . dicam.*—This change from plural to singular occurs again in c. 95: 'Quoniam nos admonuit res . . . parum mihi videtur.' The contrary happens in Cat. c. 7; 'juventus' is followed successively by 'discebat' and 'habebant.'

XVIII. *Habuere* = 'habitavere.' So Tacitus opens his Annals: 'Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere.'

*Vagi, palantes.*—'Erramus incerti, vagamur soluti, palamur dispersi,' Döderl. Syn. i. 89.

*Quisque.*—For this insertion of 'quisque' into a clause with an ablative absolute, Kritz compares Justin. xxix. 1: 'His regibus pueris . . . in suorum quisque majorum, vestigia nitentibus.' Comp. Liv. xxi. 45.

*Intra oceanum magis.*—'Nearer the ocean.' Hoc dicitur de locis qui

prope ab oceano absunt. Comp. Cic. in Verr. iii. 89: 'Locus intra oceano nunjam nullus est;' within the limits of the ocean. So, 'Fossa ingens ducta et vallum intra eam erigitur,' Livy, xxv. 11.

*Mare . . . prohibebant.*—'Commercial intercourse was alike forbidden by the extent of sea, and the ignorance of their respective languages.'

*Alia, deinde alia.*—So, 'Alias deinde alias moras,' in Jug. c. 36.

*Agitabant.*—For 'agebant; as 'ducto,' 'missito,' etc., for 'duco,' 'mitto,' etc. Comp. Cat. c. 11: 'Vita agitabatur.'

*Hi, Libyes.*—*hique.* Medii, Armenii.

*Mauros pro Medis.*—This is strange etymology. Duruzoir, in his Salust, says: 'Cependant, observe le président de Brosses, il nous apprend lui-même d'où est tiré le nom de Maure, lorsqu'il nous dit que ces peuples furent les premiers de la côte d'Afrique qui commercèrent avec l'Espagne. Maure, en langage africain, signifie *commercant*.'

*Quæ adpellatur.*—Hoc verbum per attractionem non ad subjectum sed ad prædicti nomen pertinet. Cf. Cat. c. 25: 'Sed ei cariora semper *omnia* quam decus atque pudicitia fuit.' Ovid, Art. Amor. iii. 22: 'Quas gentes vestes sordida lana fuit.' Ter. And. iii. 3, 23: 'Amantium *iræ* amoris integratio est.'

*Concessere.*—Joined and became amalgamated with.

*Originibus.*—'Parent States.' Comp. Livy, xxvi. 13; xxxviii. 39.

XIX. *Nam.*—Nam non refertur ad ea quæ in antecedentibus dicta sunt, sed ad omissam sententiam, hoc fere modo supplendam. 'Hæc de illis urbibus sufficient sed Carthaginem consulto non nominavi, nam de ea, etc., Kritz.

*Ad Catabathmon.*—'Ad de ordine dicitur quo res excipient,' Kritz. 'Next to Catabathmus.' Cic. De Fin. iii. 16; Mela, i. 8: 'Inde ad Catabathmon Cyrenaica, provincia est.'

*Secundo mari.*—'Si quis maris oram sequatur; ' following the line of coast.'

*Thereōn, Philenōn.*—Θηραίων, Φιλαίνων. Greek adjectives in genitive plural.

*Bello Jugurthino.*—'At the time of the Jugurthine war.'

*Ad necessitudinem.*—'For the purposes of his history.'

XX. *Discessere.*—Some MSS. read 'decessere.' Mr. Merivale compares Jug. c. 28: 'Decrevere uti legati . . . Italia . . . decederent,' adding that the latter is the proper phrase for an officer leaving his post and returning home. See Drakenborch on Livy, xxviii. 28. 'Decessisse' is used of 'legati' in c. 23, below.

*Bellum sumere.*—Incipere aliquid a quo quis antea alienus erat.

*Secus.*—Sub. 'Ac cupiverat.'

*Animo jam invaserat.*—'In his heart,' 'in thought.' Mr. Merivale compares Cic. Verr. i. 51, 'Qui jam spe et opinione prædam illam devorasset'; Ad. Att. i. 16, 'Ille autem regis hereditatem spe devoraverat.'

XXI. *Haud longe a mari.*—Comparatively speaking, for Cirta is on the river Ampsagas, forty miles inland. Mela, i. 6, says, 'Cirta procul a mari'; and Strabo, xvii. 3, p. 488 (ed. Tauchn.) says, Κίρτα τέ ἐστιν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ.

*Die.*—The old genitive of 'dies.' Comp. chapters 52, 97.

*Plerumque noctis.*—So 'multum diei processerat,' in c. 51.

*Lumine.*—'The sun.' Kritz distinguishes 'lumen' and 'lux,' the source of light and the light diffused.

*Togatorum.*—'Roman citizens,' the same as we find in c. 26 under the names 'Italici,' 'negotiatores.' Compare also c. 47.

*Numidas prohibuit.*—See Cat. c. 28, ‘Januā prohibiti.’

*Patratum.*—Where the act is a serious one; a stronger word than ‘perfectum.’

*Foret.*—For ‘fuisset.’

*Vineis.*—These served to protect the besiegers while working their battering rams. They were made of wood, covered with skins. Mr. Merivale compares Cæs. Bell. Civ. ii. 2, to show that the full phrase was ‘porticus vineæ.’ See Smith’s Dict. of Ant.

*Tempus . . . antecapere.*—Comp. ‘noctem antecapere,’ in Cat. c. 55, ‘Eo tempore uti, quod redditum legatorum Romam missorum, antecederet.’ To make the best use of the time preceding the return of the ambassadors sent to Rome.

*Velle.*—‘Velle de populo dicitur, censere de senatu.’ Both however in this place may refer to the Senate.

XXII. *Clemens.*—This word is used of the gentle sloping of a hill. Tac. Ann. xxxi., ‘Colles clementer adsurgentes;’ Ger. c. 1, ‘Clementer edito jugo.’ ‘Nec, quā sit clementissimus amnis,’ Ov. Met. ix. 115. The meaning here seems, ‘smoothed down.’

*Malitia* = malis artibus.—Tac. Ann. xiii., ‘L. Volusio inoffensa tot imperatorum malitia fuit.’

*Ob easdem artes.*—The same practices.

*Prohibuerint.*—Shut him out from.

*Appellantici copia.*—Because Jugurtha would not let them enter Cirta, which he was besieging.

XXIII. *Formidinem.*—i.q. ‘Res formidolosa,’ as ‘odium’ and ‘invidia,’ for that which causes ‘odium,’ etc. Comp. ‘præmia ostentando,’ c. 89, and the same phrase as above, in c. 66.

*Miserando.*—‘Giving expression to his pity,’ ‘bewailing.’ Comp. note on Cat. c. 31.

*Confirmat.*—‘Dubitantes et recusantes tandem permovet;’ prevails upon them.

*Ad proximum mare.*—To the nearest part of the seacoast.

*Pergerent.*—Obs. the imperf. subj. after the pres. indic.

XXIV. *Nisi tamen.*—‘Intelligo, nisi tamen quod intelligo.’ Comp. Plaut. Epid. ii. 2, 98: ‘Quid ego nam? nisi te commentum nimis astute intelligo.’

*Supra, quam ego sum, petere.*—That is, not to be master of the kingdom of Adherbal only, but also of the Roman province.

*Ostentui essem.*—‘That I should serve to hold up to view the evil conduct of Jugurtha.’

XXV. *Enisum.*—Participle of deponent used passively. So ‘adeptus,’ Cat. c. 7; ‘machinatus,’ Jug. c. 48; ‘interpretatus,’ Jug. c. 17.

*Majores natu.*—Comp. c. 21: ‘Tres adolescentes in Africam legantur.’

*In invidia.*—‘In ill odour.’

*Uticam.*—The capital of the Roman province.

*Multa, etc.*—‘After much waste of words.’

*Frustra.*—Without having effected their purpose.

XXVI. *Italici.*—Called ‘negotiatores’ in c. 21 above.

*Adherbalem excruciatum necat.*—‘Puts Adherbal to death by torture.’ Döderlein, Syn. iii. 86, shows that ‘neco’ is used of killing in a shocking manner, as opposed to ‘interficio,’ simply ‘to put to death.’

*Interfecit.*—Observe the change of tense.

XXVII. *Jurgiis.*—‘Trifling disputes.’ Comp. Cat. c. 31: ‘Jurgiis laces-situs.’

*Atrocity*, etc.—‘Softened down the heinousness of the crime.’

*Id agi*.—That that course was taken.

*Profecto*.—Without a doubt.

*Lege Sempronia*.—The Lex Sempronius was carried by C. Sempronius Gracchus, A.U.C. 630 (B.C. 124); it provided that the consular provinces should be assigned before the elections of the consuls.

*P. Scipio Nasica*.—The son of the slayer of Tiberius Gracchus.

*Obvenit*.—Came to by lot.

**XXVIII. Praecepit . . . adgreditantur.**—Comp. Cat. c. 41, Jug. c. 111, for this change of construction.

*In diebus proximis decem*.—‘Within the next ten days.’ So in c. 11, ‘tribus proximis annis,’ within the last three years.

*Legat*.—‘Legare’ is equivalent to ‘legatas sibi adsciscere.’ ‘Legati,’ the Staff of the Imperator. They were chosen by the Imperator himself, subject however to the approval of the Senate. In the war with Antiochus, the great Scipio Africanus went as ‘legatus’ to his brother.

*Munita*.—Defensa, tuta, præsidio firmata.

*De natura et habitu*.—‘His natural and acquired character.’ Cic. De Inv. i. 24: ‘Quæ industria comparantur ad habitum pertinent,’ and *id. i. 25*.

*Multæ bonæque artes*.—‘Many excellent qualities.’ So Cat. c. 20, ‘Multis et magnis tempestatisibus;’ Jug. c. 102, ‘Multæ atque opportuna habes.’

*Siciliam*.—Without any preposition. So Cic. Pro Leg. Manil. 12: ‘Inde Sardiniam cum classe venit.’

*Transvectæ* strictly belongs only to ‘Siciliam’ and ‘ad Africam,’ but governs also ‘Rhegium’ by the figure zeugma.

*Pugnando capit*.—See Cat. c. 7.

**XXIX. Quod administrabat**.—*sc.* Calpurnius. This should properly have been ‘quod administraret,’ in *oratione obliqua*. Comp. ‘frequenter,’ Cat. c. 14; Jug. c. 38, ‘tenet’ for ‘teneat.’

*Magnitudine pecuniae*.—Kritz compares Flor. iii. 1, 5: ‘Quum Jugurtha in Scauro ipsis Romani imperii mores expugnavisset,’

*Statuit . . . agere*.—‘He resolved to treat with them (Scaurus and Calpurnius) there and then, on all the stipulations required in the treaty.’

*Palam*.—Præsenti consilio Calpurnii.

*Legatis*.—*sc.* Jugurthæ.

*Deditio mora*.—‘Donec deditio quæ trahēbatur facta esset,’ while the terms of surrender were being arranged amidst much delay.

*Consilio*.—*sc.* ‘Imperatoris;’ in the presence of his counsellors. Some read ‘concilio,’ i.q. ‘cetu.’ Comp. Jug. cc. 62, 104.

*Per saturam*.—On this word Mr. Merivale has the following note: ‘Opinions being asked in a confused, irregular manner;’ the ‘lanx *satura*’ being a dish composed of various ingredients. Festus says, ‘*Satura* est lex multis aliis legibus conferta,’ a comprehensive enactment. ‘*Per saturam legem ferre*’ is proverbial. Diomedes (iii.) quotes a verse of Lucilius:—

‘*Per saturam ædilem factum qui legibus solvat.*’

‘*Lanx *satura**’ = *pot pourri*. ‘Confuse ac perturbate, nullo ordine,’ Kritz.

*Ad magistratus rogandos*.—‘To preside at the elections of the magistrates.’ ‘*Rogare*’ was used of proposing a law, or a candidate for civic honours.

**XXX. Invidia**.—In consulem.

*Parum constabat*.—Were in a state of indecision.

*Potentia nobilitatis*.—This double genitive is found in Cic. Div. ii. 13,

5 : 'Cum illius administratione provinciae'; id. De Fin. xv. 51; id. Div. v. 17, 4, 'Invidia annonae inimici tui.'

*Ostendere . . . accendebat.*—So in Cat. c. 60, after the historic infinitive we have the imperfect.

*Perscribere.*—Some take this word in the sense of 'transcribe,' imagining it to be a copy of an extant speech of Memmius; but there seems no internal evidence to the fact, and the expression 'hujuscemodi' would show that such was not the case.

*Ac potissimum.*—'And that above all others,' etc.

XXXI. *Multa me dehortantur a vobis*, etc.—i.q. 'Multa me hortantur ne vestrarum rerum curam suscipiam,' many reasons warn me to refrain from undertaking your cause. This commencement is said to be in imitation of a speech of Cato the Censor's, *De Lusitanis*: 'Multa me dehortata sunt huc prodire, anni, atas, vox, vires, senectus.'

*Nam.*—Nam hoc loco non refertur ad antegressa dicta, sed ad omissam sententiam hujus fere modi: Hæc jam satis gravia sunt, et sufficient ad id quod dixi confirmandum. 'Nam superiora repetere piget,' etc.

*His annis xv.*—'For these fifteen years.' The number varies in different MSS. Kritz reads 'twenty,' following Corte, on the ground of its being a round number. T. Gracchus was slain twenty-two years before, and C. Gracchus ten years.

*Quam fœde, quamque inulti.*—'Inulti,' used as a secondary predicate, adverbially.

*Vestri defensores.*—The brothers Gracchi.

*Ab ignavia.*—The preposition is employed because not so much the instrument as the origin is signified.

*Obnoxiiſ.*—'Subject to you,' 'in your power.' Comp. note on Cat. c. 23.

*Liberatatem (dicendi).*—Παρέργοιαν: comp. Livy, xxxix. 26, 'Licentiam vocis et linguae experiri,' Plin. Paneg. 67, 'Scietque nos quoties libertatem quam dedit experiemur, sibi parere.'

*Ob rem.*—'To the purpose'; i.q. 'in rem' (see Cat. c. 20), or 'ex re.' Ter. Phorm. v. 7, 76.

*More.*—i.q. 'Moribus'; by their own evil ways.

*Quem regnum parare aiebant.*—So Cic. *De Amic.* c. 12: 'Tiberius Gracchus regnum occupare conatus est, vel regnavit is quidem paucos menses.'

*Quæſtiones.*—'Judicia in re capitali,' prosecutions.

*Necati.*—Put to a violent death, strangled.

*Sed sane fuerit.*—'But granted that it was,' etc.

*Ulcisci.*—'To be avenged.' Comp. Liv. ii. 17 and Liv. v. 49.

*Nequitur.*—This passive form is found in Plautus, Terence, Cato, and Lucretius, but is invariably found with the passive infinitive; hence this rare use of 'ulciscor.'

*Superioribus annis.*—Formerly, during these fifteen years.

*Taciti indignabamini.*—'You kept your anger to yourselves.'

*Impune.*—Emphatic.

*Parum habuere.*—'They treated as of little account.' 'Parum' for 'parvum.' So below: 'Illis parum est impune fecisse.' So Livy, iv. 2: 'Parum id videri quod omnia divina humanaque turbentur.' Cic. Off. i. 25:

Quod est inter nimium et parum.'

*Incedunt per ora vestra magnifice.*—'They march before your very faces slowly in all their pomp.' Virg. *Aen.* i. 50: 'Quæ Divum incedo regina.' Hor. *Sat.* ii. i, 65: 'Nitidus qua quisque per ora . . . cederet.'

*Servi ære parati.*—Comp. another portion of Cato's speech: ‘*Servi injurias nimis ægre ferunt, quia illos bono genere natos magnæ virtute præditos, opinamini animi habuisse atque habituros dum vivent?*’

*Pars . . . alii.*—As in c. 19 above.

*Beneficia.*—‘*Consulatus, sacerdotia, prætura aliique honores in republica, qui suffragiis populi mandati sunt.*’ The civic honours in the gift of the people.

*Majestatis.*—Quint. Instit. vii. 3, § 35, defines ‘majestas’: ‘*Majestas est in imperio atque omni populi Romani dignitate.*’ Comp. also Cic. Inv. ii. 17.

*Per secessionem.*—Mr. Merivale mentions the fact that Piso, an historian, had said that the first secession was to the Aventine, and not to Mons Sacer.

*Amittere.*—To let go out of your hands.

*Si dediticius est.*—‘If he is in a state of submission.’ ‘*Dediticii,*’ a conquered nation who submitted without conditions. Comp. Liv. vii. 31: ‘*Omnia in vestram ditionem dedimus, quicquid deinde patiemur, dediticii vestri passuri,*’ Merivale.

*Paces.*—This appears to have been an expression of Cato's, for we find it in his book *De Vita Populi Romani*: ‘*Animadvertisendum in primis quibus de causis et quemadmodum constiterint paces.*’ Comp. also Plaut. Pers. v. 1, 1: ‘*Pacibus perfectis.*’

*Obedientes vivamus.*—‘*Ut per totam vitam obedientes simus,*’ Kritz. ‘*Obedientes vivamus,*’ plus quam ‘*obedientes simus,*’ et perpetuitatem denotat. Auson. Epig. 88:—

‘*Jurisconsulto cui vivit adultera conjux  
Papia lex placuit.*’

*Auxiliū.*—sc. ‘*Bonorum contra injurias malorum.*’ If there be no offences, he means, there will be no occasion to call on the good for help.

*XXXII. Interposita fide publica.*—See note on Cat. c. 47, and below: ‘*Fidem suam interponit.*’

*Captæ.*—For ‘*acceptæ.*’

*Arcessabant.*—‘*Demanded home for trial.*’

*Ex conscientia.*—From a consciousness of his guilt.

*Quam ille.*—sc. Jugurtha.

*XXXIII. Confirmatus.*—‘*Was induced.*’ Comp. c. 23, *ad finem*.

*Dignitati.*—Comp. Cato's speech, Cat. c. 51.

*Confirmare.*—‘*To impress the fact upon the people*’ that, as far as he (Memmius) was concerned, the pledged word of the State should not be violated.

*Cœpit.*—Comp. *infra*, cc. 62, 85, 91.

*Numidiæ.*—This genitive, for the usual ablative, must be attributed to the preceding ‘*Romæ,*’ being used for the sake of uniformity.

*Sociis.*—Kritz reads ‘*socios*,’ but there seems no occasion to alter the text. The present reading gives a very good sense, viz. that Jugurtha was anxious not to compromise his partisans at Rome.

*XXXIV. Quæ ira fieri amat.*—This is a Greek idiom: ‘*amat*’ =  $\phi\lambda\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ , and is either used absolutely, or has ‘*ira*’ for its subject, the latter construction being the preferable one (comp. Thucyd. viii. 1: “*Oπερ φιλέτι δῆμος ποιεῖν*”), because though  $\phi\lambda\epsilon\omega$  is used absolutely, ‘*amo*’ is not. The phrase  $\phi\lambda\epsilon\iota\gamma\iota\gamma\nu\sigma\theta\omega$  has been imitated by later writers only. If we prefer the former construction, we must consider the plural

relative and the singular verb as a further imitation of the Greek idiom, and must take ‘ira’ as the ablative case.

*Ludibrio habitus*.—Made a mockery of.

XXXV.—

Masinissa.

Micipsa.

Gulussa.

Mastanabal.

Adherbal.

Hiempsal.

Jugurtha.

Gauda.

(c. 65.)

Massiva. (c. 35.)

Masinissa had also a son Massugrada, by a concubine (see c. 108), and Massugrada a son Dabar.

*Senescere*.—Used metaphorically, as ‘consenuerunt,’ in Cat. c. 20.

*Maxime*.—‘Si fieri possit maxime,’ ‘and if possible secretly.’ Comp. c. 46: ‘Persuadet uti Jugurtham maxime vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent.’

*Ex eo numero*.—i.e. ‘Ex eorum numero,’ *per attractionem*. Comp. Jug. c. 18; Cat. c. 42; Cic. Pro Arch. c. xii: ‘Qui est ex eo numero qui semper sancti sunt habiti atque dicti.’

*Ex aequo bonoque*.—Because, according to the strict letter of the law, Bomilcar could not become ‘reus,’ inasmuch as he had come in immediate attendance upon Jugurtha, to whom the State had pledged its word. *Aequus*, equitable; *bonus*, profitable.

*In priore actione*.—‘In the preliminary proceedings,’ when the depositions were taken and the witnesses heard; after which the defendant was required to give bail for his future appearance. Livy makes Jugurtha the person accused (Epit. 64).

*Urbem venalem*, etc.—i.e. ‘O urbem venalem,’ etc. Comp. Livy, Epit. 64.

XXXVI. *Ludificare*.—Kritz, on the authority of this passage, as quoted by Arusianus in v. ‘ludificor,’ reads ‘ludificari,’ which reading is also borne out by a passage in Tac. Ann. iii. 21, which is in imitation of this: ‘Tacfarinas . . . spargit bellum, ubi instaretur cedens, ac rursum in terga remeans, et dum ea ratio barbaro fuit, irritum fessumque Romanum impune ludificabatur.’

*Ex tanta properantia*.—After such great haste.

*Secordia magis quam dolo*.—‘Not so much from idleness as evil intention.’ Cic. Top. c. ix: ‘Dolus malus est, quum aliud agitur, aliud simulatur.’

*Romam decessit*.—Left the province and betook himself to Rome; ‘left for Rome.’

XXXVII. *Atrociter*.—Grievously.

*Continuare magistratum*.—Comp. note on Catiline, c. 20: ‘Binas aut amplius domos continuare.’ ‘To keep on their appointment.’

*Capiendæ*.—For ‘acciendiæ’.

*Extremo*.—Adjective used as a substantive, contrary, as Kritz observes, to the manner of Sallust’s day, the more correct expression being, ‘in extremo monte,’ as in ‘in priore actione,’ ‘in prima fabula,’ i.e. ‘in prima parte fabulæ,’ Ter. Ad. Pr. v. 9. He is followed however in this by Tacitus and Livy. Comp. Tac. Ann. i. 61, ‘Medio campi albentia ossa;’ Livy, xxxviii. 9, ‘Extremo aestatis erat;’ id. xxxvii. 5, ‘Jam extrellum auctummi erat.’

**XXXVIII.** *Vitabundus*.—A stronger form of ‘vitans.’ ‘As if perpetually shunning.’

*Turmarum*.—‘Squadrons of cavalry.’ ‘Centurio’ must not be taken with ‘turmarum,’ as the centuriones commanded troops of infantry. There were ten turmæ to each legion, each turma containing three decuriæ.

*Ita delicta occultiora fore*.—i.e. ‘Delicta Auli.’ This appears to have been Jugurtha’s argument with Aulus. ‘Delicta’ can scarcely refer to Jugurtha’s treacherous dealings with his adversary.

*Instruit*.—The present used after ‘postquam’ in more hurried narration. ‘Postquam’ is properly followed by two perfects, but Sallust varies the construction. Comp. Cat. c. 12: ‘Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœpere, et eas gloria sequebatur, hebescere virtus,’ etc. The historic infinitive is very commonly used by him in the second clause of the sentence. For the use of the present, comp. Cat. cc. 40, 57; Jug. cc. 66, 76.

*Periculum anceps*.—These words are explained by those that precede and those that follow. The danger was double, owing to the darkness of the night and the strength of the foe; it was dangerous to fly, it was dangerous to remain.

*Centurio primi pili*.—The centurion of the first rank of triarii or pilarii. He was the first centurion in the legion. There were ten ranks (ordines) in each of the three divisions (hastati, principes, triarii). The centurion of the first rank of hastati was called ‘primus hastatus;’ of the principes, ‘primus princeps;’ of the pilarii or triarii, ‘centurio primi pili,’ or ‘primus pilus.’

*Tenet*.—For ‘teneat.’ Kritz observes that the indicative mood is not uncommon in the *oratio obliqua* when the dialogue narrated is the invention of the writer.

*Mutabant*.—One manuscript and many editions have this reading. For the use of ‘muto’ as passive, Mr. Merivale compares Tac. Ann. ii. 23, ‘Postquam mutabat æstus;’ Catull. xxii. 10; Livy, ii. 10.

*Convenit*.—‘Is agreed upon.’ ‘In eas conditiones cum pax convenisset,’ Livy, xxix. 12.

**XXXIX.** *Consul Albinus*.—There is great difficulty in ascertaining the truth with regard to the consular elections at this time. Albinus had returned in the summer, in June or July, to hold the comitia. The Tribunes however prevented their being held for the rest of the year. The defeat of Aulus could not have taken place till January (see c. 37). Now did Albinus, the *Consul*, hold the elections, before he went out as *Consul* after his brother’s defeat, or were they held by an interrex?

*Et tamen*.—That is, without waiting for the decision of the Senate.

*Ita, uti par fuerat*.—‘As all along it was.’ Probably they would compare their conduct in the treaty after the battle of the Caudine Forks, and after the capitulation of Mancinus in Spain.

*Mederi fraternæ invidiae*.—‘The odium he owed to his brother’s misconduct.’

*Corruperat*.—Had demoralized.

*Ex copia rerum*.—‘As things stood;’ i.q. ‘pro rerum quæ tunc erant statu et condicione.’

**XL.** *C. Mamilius Limetanus*.—This was the second year he had been Tribune consecutively.

*Neglegisset*.—Old form of ‘neglexisset.’

*Homines*, etc.—They were employed, as Kritz observes, not to vote, for that they could not do, but to raise disturbances on the day on which the bill was brought in. Cicero speaks in dispraise of this bill, Brut. xxxiv.

*Jusserit, decreverit, voluerit*.—These words have no technical meaning here, but are used for emphasis. Properly speaking, ‘decrevo’ is used of the Senate; ‘jubeo,’ of the *populus*; ‘volo,’ of both, but especially of the latter.

*Quasitores*.—‘Commissioners of inquiry.’ Before Sulla instituted his ‘*quaestiones perpetuae*’ in cases of great importance, where the law had provided no penalty, a special bench was appointed, presided over by *Quasitores*. Vid. Ernest. Clav. Cic. in v. *quaestio*. The result of the investigation was the exile of Bestia, of Opimius (the murderer of Gracchus), of C. Cato, and C. Galba. See Cic. Brut. 34.

*Insolentia*.—As ‘*insolens malarum artium*,’ Cat. c. 3; not as ‘*insolentia*,’ Jug. c. 4.

XLI. *Partium . . . factionum*.—Obs. ‘pars’ used of the many, ‘factio’ of the few. The habit of having a popular party, as opposed to an oligarchical faction.

*Quæ prima*.—The relative, says Kritz, refers in this passage to the sense rather than to the grammatical construction. Comp. Jug. c. 102, ‘*Humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit*.’ Comp. also Cic. De Divin. ii. 57.

*Populus et senatus*.—The order reversed, for the purpose of marking the opposition between the two elements of the State.

*Metus hostilis*.—Dread of an enemy.

*Scilicet*.—‘Hæc particula habet adfirmandi cum acerba ironia.’ Comp. c. 31, ‘*Scilicet existimabitis*,’ etc. etc.

*Incessere*.—Used absolutely.

*Quæ media fuerat*.—Vid. Liv. ii. 57; Senec. Epist. 104, where this phrase is imitated. Sallust borrowed it from Thuc. iii. 82: Τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὅπ' ἀμφοτέρων διεφθείροντο.

*Factio*.—Opposed to ‘*in multitudine*,’ an organized body to an unorganized one.

*Militum*.—Comp. Hor. Carm. ii. 18, v. 23:—

‘ Quid? quod usque proximos  
Revellis agri terminos, et ultra  
Limites clientium  
Salis avarus; pellitur paternos  
In sinu ferens deos,  
Et uxor et vir, sordidosque natos.’

*Ex nobilitate*.—sc. Gracchi.

*Quasi discessio terræ*.—As an earthquake, so to speak.

XLII. *Majores*.—They were grandsons, on the mother’s side, of P. Scipio Africanus. Their father had distinguished himself in Spain.

*Vindicare in libertatem plebem*.—The words used before the Praetor Urbanus when a slave was liberated. See Dict. of Antiquities.

*Eadem ingredientem*.—‘Eadem’ is the neuter plural; ‘ingredi aliquid’ = ‘aliquid moliri et suscipere.’ Comp. Livy, xxxviii. 54, ‘Petilii rem ingressi;’ Livy, xlvi. 23, ‘Vix ea ingredientem.’

*Necaverant*.—‘Put to a violent death,’ implying that it was an unjust proceeding.

*Et sane.*—It must be confessed.

*Bono.*—*sc.* Homini.

*Malo.*—To be taken with ‘more.’

*Ferro aut fuga extinxit.*—Per zeugma.

*Quamobrem ad incepturn redeo.*—So ‘nunc ad incepturn redeo,’ c. 4.

**XLIII.**—*Q. (Cæcilius) Metellus.*—The best of all the great men described in this history. Velleius and Cicero praise him alike for his eloquence and his public character. Plutarch wrote his life, but it is not extant. He was afterwards surnamed Numidicus, from his victories in the Jugurthine war.

*M. Silanus.*—*M. Junius Silanus*, the father of the *Silanus*, who was Consul Elect in the year of the conspiracy of Catiline. He is well known from the defeat he sustained at a subsequent period (A.U. 645), in the war with the Cimbri.

*Partiverant.*—‘Nam et *partio* et *partior* dicimus,’ Serv. on *Aeneid*, i. 197.

*Adverso.*—Used substantively as ‘adversarius,’ ‘contrarius,’ ‘inimicus,’ etc.

*Æquabilis.*—‘Æquabilis est fama constans, semper bona.’ Compare Cat. c. 2, ‘Æquabilius et constantius,’ etc.; Tac. Ann. vi. 31, ‘Artabanus fidus Romanis, æquabilis in suos;’ Tac. Hist. iv. 5, ‘Cunctis vitæ officiis æquabilis.’

*Alia omnia.*—‘While he transacted all other things in common with his colleague, he considered the care of Numidia worthy of his sole and earnest attention.’ This is the sense in which Kritz and Corte take it. See Kritz, p. 248. Ruperti and Orelli translate ‘cum’ as if it were ‘ab,’ and make the sense to be, ‘Considering his business to be totally separate from his colleague’s;’ Keightley, ‘Having arranged that all other things should rest with his colleague,’ etc., which gives the best sense.

*Nomenque Latinum.*—Comp. ‘nomine Latino,’ c. 39. This refers to the cities, who enjoyed the Latin franchise only. This franchise consisted of the right of intermarriage and of commercial intercourse, ‘jus connubii’ and ‘jus commercii.’ The ‘jus suffragii’ was not conferred till later.

*Bello vario.*—A war of so varied a character which would not be ended in one battle, and would assume different forms, such as sieges, battles, etc.

*Ultrō.*—‘Beyond what was expected of them;’ ‘they went out of their way to.’

*Invictum animum.*—Comp. Tac. Ann. xv. 21, ‘Invictus adversum gratiam animus;’ Justin. xii. 15, ‘Sicut in hostem, ita in mortem, invictus animus fuit.’

**XLIV.** *Praedator ex sociis.*—i.e. ‘Ex agro sociorum.’ Cf. c. 88 below: ‘Ex sociis nostris praedam agentes.’

*Imperio et modestia.*—The former word refers to the officers, the latter to the men. Cf. Tac. H. ii. 12, for ‘modestiam,’ quoted on ‘ambitio’ in c. 45.

*Æstivorum tempus.*—Est tempus rebus gerendis idoneum, quoque ad expeditiones uti solebant.

*Expectatione . . . intentos.*—See note on Cat. c. 2.

*Stativis castris.*—Permanent winter camps.

*Odos,* for later form ‘odor.’ So ‘labos’ for ‘labor’ in Cat. c. 7.

*Deducebantur*.—Cf. ‘colonis deducendis,’ c. 42; ‘nor were sentinels picqueted.’

*Vino advectio*.—Imported.

*Frumentum*.—i.e. ‘Menstruum;’ the allowance of corn for a month. This they sold, and bought bread as they needed it day by day, paying for it out of their plunderings.

XLV. *Ambitionem*.—The seeking popularity at the expense of strict discipline. Comp. Tac. H. ii. 12, *init.*: ‘Suedius Clemens ambitiosus imperio milites regebat, ut aduersus modestiam disciplinae corruptus, ita præliorum avidus.’—*Sævitiam*, discipline and punishment carried to too great lengths.

*Moderatum*=moderantem.—So Kritz; others however=‘moderatum ab eo.’

*Sustulisse*.—Supply ‘comperior’ from the preceding sentence.

*Arte*.—Kritz takes this in the sense of ‘prudence,’ ‘tact.’ Others, however, suppose ‘arte’ to be for ‘arcte,’ implying that while he forbade some things, such as the buying of bread, sutlers in the camp, etc., there were other indulgences which he allowed under certain restrictions. This certainly accords well with the course taken by Metellus described above, i.e. a happy mean between too great severity and too little discipline.

*Vigilias*, etc.—To set numerous pickets, and to go the rounds in person, attended by his Staff.

*Uti cum signis*, etc.—That they might march in an orderly manner, and keep by their standards.

*Miles*, etc.—i.e. Sine servo aut jumento.

XLVI. *Cum suppliciis*.—‘With urgent entreaties;’ unless we understand it, with Corte and Gerlach, to mean *ἰκέτηπλα*. On the authority of Festus, ‘supplicia sunt quæ caduceatores portant . . . ex verbena felicis arboris.’ With emblems of supplication.’

*Ex voluntate*.—sc. ‘Jugurtha.’ ‘But in open assembly, he orders such things to be transmitted to Jugurtha as would be agreeable to him (Jugurtha).’ The subjunctive shows that these words must be referred to Jugurtha. Had they been Metellus’s wishes, they would have been definite, and have required an indicative mood.

*Intento atque infesto*.—‘In strict order and in an hostile attitude.’ ‘Intentus,’ kept on the stretch, no longer in a loose and disorganized condition; ‘infestus,’ like ‘infesta signa, tela,’ implying a hostile movement. Lucan, Pharsal. i. 5: ‘Infestisque obvia signis . . . signa.’

*Contra belli faciem*.—‘With a semblance anything but warlike.’ So ‘contra decus regium,’ in c. 23, in a guise anything but regal.

*Insidiis locum*.—‘An occasion for treachery.’ So in Cat. c. 52, ‘Locus peccato,’ an occasion for erring.

*Curabat*.—See note on Cat. c. 59.

*Præfectis cohortium*.—That is, of the auxiliaries. ‘The auxiliaries were divided into cohortes, and their præfecti answered to the legionary tribunes,’ Keightley.

*Velites*.—These were light troops, supernumerary to the three great divisions, hastati, principes, triarii.

*Accederent equitatus*.—This use of a plural verb after a singular substantive (collective) became common in the hands of Livy, Cæsar, and the Latin poets generally.

*Quacunque*.—sc. ‘Ex parte,’ in whatever direction.

*Uti, absens, etc.*—‘It was a question when he was most dangerous, when absent or when present, when at peace or when waging war.’

XLVII. *Vaga* or *Vacca*.—The site is unknown. It was not far from the province, as Metellus reached it in one night’s march from winter quarters after the slaughter of the Roman garrison. Comp. *infra*, c. 56 and 58, perhaps the same as *Θύατη* (Strabo xviii. 3).

*Forum, etc.*—The most frequented market in the whole kingdom.

*Opportunitate*=propter opportunitatem; others read, ‘ob opportunitates.’ ‘He placed a garrison in that town, for the sake of drawing away the inhabitants from Jugurtha, and he placed it on account of the convenience of the situation in the event of their suffering themselves to be drawn away.’ Sallust’s reputation for conciseness may have been founded on a stray passage or two like the present. Generally he is anything but concise.

*Imperavit*.—sc. Vagensibus.

*Impensis modo*.—‘Beyond measure earnestly.’ Comp. Jug. c. 75, *init.*

*Inter eas moras*.—And in the delays occasioned by the vagueness of his reply.

XLVIII. *Tramites*.—Driftways, bye-paths.

*In divisione, etc.*—In the partition of the kingdom.

*Tractu pari*.—Running parallel to the river.

*Vastus ab natura*.—‘Desolate by nature.’ So ‘ab stirpe,’ c. 14. Cic. De Off. i. 44, ‘Ab doctoribus atque doctrina instructus;’ Ad Div. x. 15, ‘Ab equitatu firmus.’ ‘Vastus’ has also a negative force, transferred to the noun; thus ‘vastus ab humano cultu’ is equivalent to ‘quia cultus humanus abest.’

*Humi*.—Genitive case; as Tacit. Ann. i. 61, Aggeres humido paludum imponeret.’ Comp. Tac. i. 65, iii. 69; Livy, ii. 45, ii. 56.

XLIX. *Transverso itinere*.—At right angles (to the mountain).

*Extenuata acie*.—‘Extended to a great length, with little depth;’ ‘spun out.’

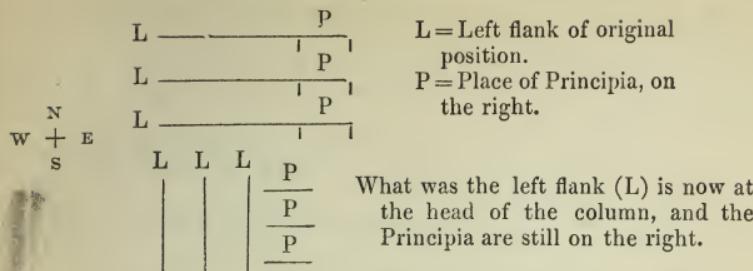
*Consedit*.—Took up his position.

*Ipse suos, etc.*—Kritz says that is equivalent to ‘Ipse suos quippe qui ex omni equitatu et peditibus delectis.’ His own division, which consisted of all the cavalry and a chosen body of infantry.

*Turmas atque manipulos*.—Squadrons of cavalry and bands of infantry.

*Decuerint*.—sc. ‘Provideri,’ understood in ‘provisa.’ Comp. Cat. c. 47, ‘Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse,’ where ‘fuisse’ must be supplied from ‘esse.’ Observe the change of construction after ‘provisa;’ accusative, then ‘ut,’ followed by ‘ne.’

*Commutatis ordinibus*.—This passage has caused great difficulty to commentators. The meaning seems to be, that originally the army was descending the hill in three lines; then Metellus ordered all except the principia to change from line to column by moving to the right. That the ‘principia,’ or first ranks, did not change, is clear, from their being at right-angles to the line of march. By this means the principia became the right flank, and what was originally the left flank of each line became the ‘principes’ of each column (see c. 50, ‘Qui in agmine facto principes’) the direction of their march being from south to north, as shown in the following diagram.



*L. Cum expeditis cohortibus*—i.e. ‘Quæ sine impedimentis sunt’ (comp. c. 46), their baggage being piled up and left behind.

*Transversis præliis*.—Attacks upon his flank.

*Principia*.—The first ranks in each of the three lines.

*Principes*.—‘Heads of the columns.’ See note on preceding chapter.

*Primos suos*.—Jugurtha’s left wing.

*Numero priores*.—‘Stronger in point of numbers;’ that is, the Numidians.

*Ea vero*.—i.e. Viâ, parte.

*Consueti*.—sc. Virgultis.

*LT. Pars . . . alii*.—This refers to both Numidians and Romans.

*In unum conductit*, etc.—Collects his scattered forces by degrees.

*Negue illis*.—sc. Romanis. ‘Ille’ in *obliqua oratione* is used of those to whom the speech is addressed. Comp. c. 56, ‘Fortunam illis præclarí facinoris casum dare,’ where ‘illis’ refers to the people of Sicca whom Jugurtha is addressing.

*Cum delectis*.—Peditibus.

*Hostibus dubiis*.—‘Hostes dubii sunt ii qui locum non tenent, sed jam in fugam inclinant.’ ‘Wavering, and on the point to fly.’

*Retinere*.—Kept them engaged.

*LII. Jugurthæ*, etc.—‘With the exception of a good army, every advantage was on the side of Jugurtha.’

*Adverso colle evadunt*.—‘Force their way up the hill occupied by the foe,’ i.e. the hill to the right of the Romans.

*Tutata sunt*.—Observe the verb, ‘tutor.’

*Quid ubique*.—For ‘quid et ubi.’ Comp. ‘quæ quoque modo,’ Cat. c. 23; ‘quid ubique opis,’ Cat. c. 21; ‘Jugurtha ubi gentium aut quid agitaret,’ c. 54.

*Aciem*, etc.—‘Extends his line, which he had drawn up in close array.’

*LIII. Äquabilem . . . constant*.—It did not blow off. ‘Pulverem’ is the substantive, not ‘humum.’

*Sicuti*, etc.—‘And that it moved as the army moved.’ ‘Sicuti,’ Mr. Merivale observes, has sometimes the force of ‘quasi,’ ‘tanquam,’ ‘si,’ ‘as if.’ Comp. Cat. c. 38, ‘Alii sicuti populi jura defenserent’; ‘but’ with the subjunctive mood.

*Disjectos circumveniri*.—‘Scattered and put to confusion.’ Comp. c. 50.

*Amplius opinione*.—‘Longer than was expected.’ Comp. ‘celerius opinione,’ Cic. Ad Div. xiv. 23.

*Nam dolus*, etc.—‘For the guile of the Numidians allowed of no feeble or careless measures.’

*Detractant*.—Another instance, among many, of Sallust’s use of old forms. Comp. ‘tutor,’ ‘missito,’ ‘dictito,’ ‘advento,’ ‘sustento,’ ‘imperito,’ and others. ‘Detractare est famæ alicujus obficere.’ Tac. De

*Orat.* 26, ‘Detractare antiquos auctores;’ *Ov. Rem. Am.* 365, ‘Ingenium magni detractat livor Homeri.’

LIV. *Agit gratias*.—*sc.* ‘Iis.’ *Comp. Cat. c. 13*, ‘abuti,’ *sc.* ‘iis;’ and *Jug. c. 110*, ‘arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo lubet, sume, utere,’ *sc.* ‘iis.’

*Quæ levia sunt.*—‘Less important,’ that is to say, in the opinion of Salust. It would have been the subj. had it been Metellus’s opinion.

*Cogebat*.—Began to levy.

*Cultorem belli*.—Per zeugma, ‘cultur’ being the term used with ‘agri’ and ‘pecoris,’ but not with ‘belli.’

*Flagitium militiae*.—A military dereliction.

*Temere munita*.—In a hasty and irregular manner.

*Ea formidine*.—For ‘ejus rei formidine.’

*Cui*.—For ‘cujus.’ So *c. 85*, ‘Mihi spes omnes in memet sitæ.’

*Ex copia*.—*sc.* ‘Consiliorum;’ of a number of plans that suggested themselves.

*Plerumque*.—*Comp. Cat. c. 17*, ‘juventus pleraque,’ ‘pleraque nobilitas;’ *c. 79*, ‘pleræque Africæ;’ otherwise, except adverbially, the singular ‘plerus’ is rarely found.

LV. *Supplicia*=supplications. ‘A solemn service to the Gods,’ ‘a thanksgiving.’ *Tac. Ann. iii. 64*, ‘Tum supplicia diis ludique magni decernuntur.’

*Post gloriā*.—*i e.* ‘Gloria parta;’ so ‘post insidias’ below=‘quum insidiæ (Metelli) factæ essent.’

*Pabulum*, etc.—He spoiled their fodder and poisoned the springs.

*Neque otium pati*.—Nor allowed them to remain quiet.

*Tantummodo*.—His only object being to keep them employed, and away from the work they had in hand.

LVI. *Arcem regni*.—‘The stronghold of the kingdom.’ *Comp. Livy, xliv. 31*, ‘Gentius eam sibi ceperat velut regni potius arcem.’

*Zamam*.—This is not the scene of the battle between Hannibal and Scipio, but the capital of Eastern Numidia.

*Magnis itineribus*.—Forced marches.

*Quia fallere nequibant*.—Because they could not change sides, having done so once.

*Post malam pugnam*.—After his disastrous engagement.

*Illos*.—The people of Sicca.

*Sustentati*.—Kept up.

LVII. *Mœnia*.—The outer walls of a city. ‘Mœnia’ implies moreover ‘fortifications.’ ‘Mœnia pro urbe,’ as ‘intra mœnia deprehensi hostes,’ *Cat. c. 52*.

*Glande*.—Balls, bullets. ‘Glande,’ collective singular, as ‘arbore infecundus,’ in *c. 17*.

*Succedere*.—‘Advanced.’ Used of advancing to a work of danger and difficulty. ‘Succedentes temere mœnibus,’ *Liv. xxiv. 19*.

*Prælum in manibus facere*=cominus pugnare.—Others read ‘manibus’ only, without the preposition, the abl. of instrument.

*Parique*, etc.—‘The brave and the coward obtained an equal share of danger, but not an equal share of fame.’

LVIII. *Remissis*.—Off their guard; ‘incautis et minime intentis.’ *Comp. c. 53*.

*Portam irrumpit*.—The preposition omitted; as in *c. 25*, ‘irrumpere Cirtam,’ for ‘irrumpere in Cirtam.’

*Pro moribus.*—As their dispositions prompted.

*Nominis Romani.*—‘Non est populi Romani, sed gloriæ ac dignitatis Romanæ.’ Comp. Liv. iv. 33, ‘Nominis Romani ac virtutis patrum vestræque memores.’

*Pauci in pluribus minus frustrati.*—‘As they were few in number, and their enemy numerous, they were less unsuccessful in their aims.’

LIX. *Agitare.*—To patrol.

*Proxima.*—sc. Hostibus.

*Neque . . . facerent.*—Kritz observes that the imperfect does not stand for the pluperfect, because the action which caused them to hold their ground continued after it had caused them so to do. He compares Florus, iii. 3, § 13: ‘Cimbri si statim, infesto agmine, urbem petissent, grande discrimen essent.’ The Cimbri failed to attack the city at once, and therefore the danger which was impending passed away.

*Quibus.*—sc. Peditibus. ‘Illi’ ad equites refertur.

*Victos dare.*—i.q. ‘Vincere;’ another archaism. This usage occurs in Plautus, Terence, Virgil, and Livy.

LX. *Eo.*—i.e. ‘Ibi,’ answering to ‘ubi.’

*Obpugnare aut parare.*—i.e. ‘Obpugnari ipsi Romanos, aut parare quæ usui forent;’ they either opposed the Romans themselves, or got ready means for opposing them.

*Remiserant,* etc.—Opposed to ‘intenti,’ as in c. 53. ‘Whenever they abated ever so little the vigour of their attack, gave all their attention to gazing on the cavalry engagement.’

*Ac, sicuti,* etc.—‘And accordingly, as they could make themselves heard, or could be seen, so did the one party (those who could make themselves heard) admonish and exhort the combatants; the others (those who could be seen) signified by the motion of their hands or their bodies what they wished the combatants to do.’

*Consulto.*—‘On purpose.’ He intended to attack them when their whole attention was given to the engagement with the Romans and Jugurtha.

*Studio suorum adstrictis.*—All their anxiety wrapt up in their friends.

*Egressi.*—‘Egredi ut ascendere est in summum eniti.’ See c. 93. Tac. Hist. iv. 29, ‘Multos in moenia egressos pugionibus fodere.’

*Unæ atque alteræ.*—‘A certain number, but not very many.’ Comp. Cic. Pro Cluent. xiii. For ‘unus’ in the plural, see note on c. 6, Cat.

*Ceteri.*—Kritz observes that the nominative is used here in the place of the partitive genitive ‘ceterorum,’ because he first states that all the rest went away as they best could, and then states how one part of these went, and how the other, the manner of their going being, as it were, added per epexegesin.

LXI. *Postquam videt.*—Obs. the indicative ‘postquam.’ Comp. Cat. c. 40, 57; Jug. c. 38, etc.

*Aut suo loco.*—i.e. ‘Sibi commodo,’ as in Jug. c. 54. ‘Qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere,’ Jug. c. 66.

*Ab Zama.*—He was not in the town; had he been, the preposition ‘ab’ would not have been needed.

*Ceterum exercitum.*—‘The rest,’ which being added makes a thing complete; the complement. ‘Reliquum,’ the rest which remains when part has been taken away. See Kritz on this passage and on Cat. c. 3.

*In provinciam.*—The accus. is required, says Kritz, because of the idea of motion conveyed in ‘colloco.’

*De nece.*—For ‘necis.’ ‘Arising out of the murder.’ So ‘conscientia de culpa,’ in Cat. c. 35.

LXII. *Aliquando.*—i.e. ‘Tandem aliquando.’ So ‘Expergiscimini aliquando et capessite rempublicam,’ in Cat. c. 52. Comp. Cat. c. 14.

*Imperata facturum.*—This was the formula of surrender. Comp. Jug. c. 46, ‘Postremo omnia quæ imperarentur facere;’ Jug. c. 77, ‘Cuncta imperata fecerunt.’ Comp. also Jug. c. 112 below.

*Arcessiri.*—For this verb in the fourth conjugation, see c. 113 below.

*More majorum.*—sc. ‘That there should be a decree passed by the sitting assembly.’ This phrase is not to be taken with the verb ‘imperat.’

*Pondo.*—Obsolete form of ‘pondus.’

*Ad imperandum.*—sc. Metellum; ‘for Metellus to dispose of.’ Kritz has a long note on this passage (vol. ii. p. 333 *sqq.*), proving that the gerund is never passive.

*Tisidium.*—Nothing is known of this place.

*Ex.*—The preposition, denoting change.

*Casus.*—‘Reverse.’ Comp. Seneca, *Phœn.* 599, for the sentiment, ‘In servitutem cadere ex regno grave est.’

LXIII. *C. Mario.*—Tribunus Plebis in 635 A.U.C., b.c. 107. He had been an unsuccessful candidate for both ædileships in one day. Shortly afterwards however he was made Prætor. He cleared Ulterior Spain of robbers as Proprætor, and was chosen by Metellus as one of his legati. It is a curious fact that Marius had served under Scipio at Numantia, so that he and Jugurtha had been brother-officers.

*Præter vetustatem . . . familie.*—Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 2, ‘Ille arator Arpinas et manipularis imperator.’ Vell. ii. 128, ‘Marium ignotæ originis Romani hominis habuere principem.’

*A populo petit.*—See the account of the appointment of the son of L. Manlius Imperiosus to the military tribunate by the people b.c. 360. At that time the people could only appoint six of the twenty-four Military Tribunes. Subsequently they had the power to choose as many as sixteen. See Liv. vii. 8; ix. 30.

*Ad id locorum.*—‘Up to that stage in his life;’ previous to the communications of the augurs. Comp. c. 72, ‘Neque post id locorum (i.e. id tempus), Jugurthæ ulla dies aut nox quieta fuit.’ Comp. ‘postea loci,’ c. 102.

*Pollutus.*—Comp. Cat. c. 23, ‘Pleraque nobilitas . . . quasi pollui consulatum credebant si eum quamvis egregius, homo novus, adeptus foret.’

LXIV. *Petendi, etc.*—Asks leave of absence for the purpose of suing for the consulship.

*Contubernio.*—Contubernales were young nobles who served their first campaign in immediate attendance on the Imperator. Cic. Pro Cœl. xxx., ‘Cum paullum roboris accessisset atati, in Africam profectus est, Q. Pompeio proconsule contubernalis.’ For the ‘construction with ‘contubernio,’ comp. Suet. Jul. ii., ‘Stipendia prima in Asia fecit, M. Thermi prætoris contubernio.’

*Annos, etc.*—Marius was forty-eight at this time. As the consulship was not open to candidates under forty-three years of age, Marius would have had to wait till he was seventy-one years old, had he followed Metellus’s advice.

*Ambitiosum.*—‘Ad favorem sibi conciliandum comparatum;’ of a nature to gain popularity for him.

*Apud negotiatores*.—‘Marius per publicanos aliosque in Africa negotiantes criminatus Metelli lentitudinem,’ Vell. ii. 11.

*Criminose*.—Against Metellus.—‘*Magnifice*,’ of himself.

*Permitteretur*.—‘Only let half the army be entrusted to him.’ ‘If half the army were,’ etc. Comp. ‘At dares hanc vim M. Crasso, in foro, crede mihi, saltaret.’

LXV. *Secundum heredem*.—‘Residuary legatee.’ Kritz says, ‘Secundus heres apud Romanos dicebatur, qui quum primus aut nollet aut non posset hereditatem adire, heres erat.’ Comp. Appian, B. C. ii. p. 518: ‘Ἐτέρους κληρονόμους παραγγέλειν Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος, εἰ μὴ κληρονομεῖν οἱ πρότεροι.

*Scripterat*.—‘Scribo’ is a technical word.

Secunda oratione.—‘Quæ secundum ejus sententiam esset.’ Comp. Livy, ii. 38, ‘Secunda iræ verba;’ Ov. Art. Am. i. 584, ‘Neu dubites illi verba secunda loqui.’

*Extollebat*.—Sought to promote to honour.

LXVI. *Postquam . . . incipit*.—Pres. after ‘postquam.’

*Vagenses*.—Nom. absolute, as in Cat. c. 37, ‘Præterea juventus,’ etc. etc.

*Quo*.—Adverb. loci. Equivalent to ‘quibus.’

*Discordiosum*.—An unusual word. ‘Greatly contentious.’ Comp. ‘vinosus,’ full of wine; ‘religiosus,’ ‘mulierosus,’ ‘nummosus,’ etc.: all implying excess of the quality or thing specified. Comp. Sidonius Epist. vi. 2: ‘Domus discordiosa.’

*Constituunt*.—Used absolutely. So Tac. Germ. xi., ‘Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. Sic constituunt, sic condicunt.’ Comp. Juven. Sat. iii. 12, ‘Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ.’

*Lasciviam*.—Rioting.

*Domas suas*.—Kritz observes that the preposition is frequently omitted when the substantive is joined to the possessive pronoun, to an adjective, or to a genitive case. So in Jug. c. 76, ‘Regiam domum comportant.’

*In tali die*.—So ‘in tali tempore,’ Cat. c. 48.

LXVII. *Pro tectis*.—i.q. ‘De tectis,’ or ‘de tectis extremis.’ ‘From the very edge of the roof.’ Cf. ‘pro rostris,’ ‘pro tribunale.’

*Anceps malum*.—The impossibility either of entering the citadel or leaving the city. Comp. ‘Ancipiti malo permotus,’ Cat. c. 29.

*Nisi . . . videtur*.—i.q. ‘Nisi compertum est videri.’ ‘Only this I know for certain, that he,’ etc.

*Intestabilis*.—‘One who can neither make nor witness a will.’ Kritz compares Ulp. Digest. xxviii. 1, 18: ‘Si quis ob carmen famosum damnetur, senatus consulto expressum est, ut intestabilis sit, ergo nec testamentum facere poterit, nec ad testamentum adhiberi testis.’

LXVIII. *Paulisper*.—To be taken with ‘abit,’ not with ‘mœstus.’

*Ubi ira*.—‘When to vexation anger was joined.’ At first Metellus’s only feeling was excessive vexation. By-and-by anger mixed itself up with that feeling, and impelled him to take speedy measures for revenge.

*Abnuentes omnia*.—Giving way altogether.

*Non amplius*, etc.—sc. ‘Quam.’ ‘Mille’ is the accusative case. For the use of ‘mille’ as a subst., Kritz compares Nepos, Miltiad. c. 5, ‘Ea civitas mille misit militum.’ Comp. also Livy, xxi. 61.

*In primo (agmine)*.—As used by Livy.

*Late*.—For the common reading, ‘latere,’ conjectured by Palmer and subsequently confirmed by MSS. ‘Late,’ in loose order, the better to conceal the infantry.

LXIX. *Ad se versum*.—*i.q.* Adversum se.

*Uti erat res*.—‘As in fact it was.’

*Amplius*.—Comp. c. 111, ‘Quoniam armis valuissent,’ ‘amplius’ being used for ‘plus’ in both these passages. Comp. Cic. Cat. iv. 5; Cæs. B. G. v. 9.

*Ex*.—‘After’ and ‘by reason of.’ Compare ‘ex tanta properantia’ in c. 36 above.

*Pœnæ aut prædæ fuit*.—Per zeugma; ‘pœnæ esse’ not being used.

*Postquam expurgat*.—Indic. pres. after ‘postquam’.

*Verberatus*.—As a Latin citizen, he could not avail himself of the Lex Porcia, or, rather, was not allowed. For Drusus, says Mr. Merivale, quoting Plut. C. Gracchus, c. 9, had extended it to the Latins, but it was not observed. The full civic franchise was not bestowed to any purpose on the Latins till the time of the Social War, A.U.C. 664. Marius is accused (Plut. Mar. c. 8.) of having been the cause of the death of Turpilius, who was a friend of Metellus, and his *præfector fabrum*.

LXX. *Suspiciens*.—The verb ‘suscipere’ is not found in the sense of ‘suspecto,’ except in the passive participle ‘suspectus.’ Some colour, however, is given to its use here by the passive participle immediately preceding.

*Omnia tentando*.—Ablative of the instrument or means. ‘By trying everything.’ Mr. Merivale observes that it is to be distinguished from ‘omnia tentans,’ ‘while or in the course of trying;’ ‘omnibus tentatis,’ ‘after having tried.’

*Carum acceptumque*.—Vide c. 12, ‘acceptum’ = acceptable.

*Majoribus adstricto*.—‘Wrapt up,’ ‘busily engaged in.’ Comp. ‘Studio suorum adstrictis,’ above, c. 60.

*Inultis hostibus*.—Abl. absolute. ‘And the enemy depart with impunity.’

*Impediebat*.—The ‘metus’ existed still, hence the imperfect.

*Timore socii anxius*.—Anxious on account of the *fears* of his friend.

*Omissio*.—Abandoned. ‘Omissa deditio,’ c. 66.

LXXI. *Nisi novissimi*.—Save and except this last.

*Super caput*.—At his head. ‘Super,’ *i.q.* ‘De.’ This usage became very common with the later Latin writers, but was rare with prose-writers of the golden age.

LXXII. *Rex aliter respondit*.—*i.e.* Placide respondit.

*Oppresserat*.—‘He had quieted his resentment, I suppose, by the slaughter,’ etc. The force of the pluperfect being to show that such was the opinion of the writer.

*Neque post id locorum*.—See on c. 63.

*Circumspectare*.—To look with suspicious caution.

LXXIII. *Indicio patefacto*.—Kritz observes on the want of correctness in this expression, it being for ‘insidiis indicio patefactis.’ He compares Ter. Heaut. v. 4, 21, ‘Neque quod principium incipiam scio;’ Liv. xxxix. 23, ‘Inchoata initia sunt.’

*Ad integrum bellum*.—A fresh war.

*Offensum*.—‘Odious;’ it may mean ‘hostile.’

*Parum*, etc.—Not only of little good, but implying that he was worse than no good, he was injurious. ‘Parum’ has generally this implied negative force.

*Volenti animo*.—Gladly.

*Quam bona aut mala sua*.—‘Than their good or bad qualities respectively;’ *i.e.* the merits of Marius, the demerits of Metellus. Observe ‘sua’ for ‘eorum,’ as in Jug. c. 9; Cat. c. 21.

*Moderata*.—Kritz reads ‘moderabant,’ making it equal to ‘curabant,’ ‘plebes’ being the nominative case to which he refers ‘sua.’

*Seditiosi magistratus*.—He means the Tribunes.

*Capitis arcessere*.—‘Charged with a capital offence.’ Kritz observes that this is said hyperbolically of the invectives of the Tribunes. One would have thought by their language that Metellus was demanded for trial on a capital charge.

*In majus celebrare*.—Kritz compares Thuc. i. 21, ‘Ως ποιηταί ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ μεῖζον κοσμοῦντες, with Tac. Ann. xiii. 8, ‘Omnia in majus celebrata.’

*Res fidesque*.—‘Res, quæ quis vere possidet; fides autem est quod gallice dicimus *crédit*,’ Kritz. ‘Cash and credit,’ Merivale. Comp. Plaut. Truc. i. : ‘Extemplo et ipse perit et res et fides.’

*In manibus*.—‘In the labour of their hands.’ Comp. Cat. c. 37, ‘In manuum mercede.’

*Post multas tempestates*.—‘Seasons of elections,’ implying that they were troublesome ones, ‘tempestas’ having the sense of ‘a critical period.’

LXXIV. *Necaverat*.—Put to death, massacred.

*Pars . . . alii*.—Comp. c. 19, etc.

*Agitabat*.—i.e. ‘Se.’ Cf. Cat. c. 23; Jug. c. 19.

*Quocumque intenderat*.—sc. Animum.

*Aliquanto numero*.—A considerable number.

*Ferme*.—Old form of ‘fere.’

LXXV. *Impensius*.—‘Modo’ is the ablative case after ‘impensius.’ Comp. Jug. c. 47.

*Thalam*.—Nothing certain is known of this place; it was probably near Leptis, as the people of that city sent to Metellus: see c. 77.

*Multus*, etc.—Abundant provision for the maintenance of his children.

*Domiti pecoris*.—Cattle broken in.

*Eoque*.—An adverb.

*Ubi præsto fuerint*.—Kritz reads ‘forent.’ ‘Fuerint,’ says Mr. Merivale, implies that the people shall be already there when Metellus comes up.

*Ad id*, etc.—With ‘quo’ supply ‘venire.’ Comp. Cic. Off. ii. 22, ‘Atque ne illam quidem consequuntur quam putant, gratiam (sc. se) consecuturos.’

*Ea modo*.—That alone.

*Officia intenderant*.—Had performed their services with zeal.’ Comp. Tac. Hist. i. 24, ‘Largitionem Otho præmiis intendebat.’

*Ad Thalam*.—Before Thala. ‘Jugurtha Thalam pervenit;’ he entered the city.

*Locorum asperitate*.—Comp. with this statement c. 89 below: ‘Nam præter,’ etc. etc.

LXXVI. *Infectum*.—‘Impossible,’ having the force of an adjective in -bilis. Comp. Ter. Eun. iii. sc. 5, v. 20: ‘Amore cogente, nihil est infectum cupientibus.’ So ‘acceptus’ above. Comp. ‘invictus,’ ‘incorrupta,’ etc.

*Ceteris*.—All other men.

*Circumvenit*.—‘Circumdedicit’ is more common in this sense.

*Loci ex copia maxime idoneis*.—Comp. Jug. c. 55, ‘Tam ex copia, quod optimum videbatur consilium capit.’ ‘The places, among many others, the most suitable;’ the most suitable places of all.

*Multo ante labore fatigati*.—i.q. ‘Labore qui antea fuit.’ ‘Worn out with much previous exertion.’ Comp. Plaut. Amphit. ii. 2, 138, ‘Tu intus pateram proferte foras,’ i.e. ‘quæ intus est;’ id. Pers. iii. 1, 57, ‘Non tu nunc

*hominum mores vides*, i.e. ‘*hominum qui nunc sunt*.’ So *Aeneid* i. 202 : ‘*Ignari ante malorum*,’ unversed in previous misfortunes. Comp. Cat. c. 30, ‘*Apuliam circumque loca*,’ i.e. ‘*loca quæ circum Apuliam sunt*.’

*Murum*, etc.—Because when once the battering ram had struck the walls of a town, nothing remained but unconditional surrender. Comp. Cæs. B. G. ii. 32 : ‘*Li qui, armis positis, ad imperatorem fidem confugient quamvis murum aries percusserit, recipiendi sunt*.’

*Igni corrumpunt*.—So ‘*corrumpunt*’ immediately above.

LXXVII. *Novis rebus*.—i.e. Revolt.

*Illorum*.—As those to whom the speech was addressed. This use of ‘*ille*’ has been noticed above, on c. 51.

*Gnave*.—Diligently, carefully.

LXXVIII. *Ex re*.—‘From their natural character.’ Sallust says the name is derived from *σύρπειν*, ‘to drag,’ because of the stones dragged along by the force of the waves. Mr. Merivale considers the words below, ‘*Syrtes ab tractu nominatae*,’ to be a gloss from Isidorus the grammarian, who says, in reference to this passage, ‘*Nomen a re inditum, Syrtes Sallustius a tractu vocari dicit*.’ Comp. Strabo, xvii. 3; Plin. H. N. v. 4; Lucan, Pharsal. ix. 303.

*In extrema Africa*.—In the eastern extremity, bordering on Egypt.

*Mare magnum*.—Comp. ‘*Suave mari magno*,’ Lucret. i. 1; ‘A troubled sea.’

*Procul ab imperio*.—i.e. Nunquam regibus subjecti.

*Frequentem*.—Abounding in hamlets and cities.

*Multi vastique loci*.—See Cat. cc. 20, 51; Jug. c. 5, etc. etc.

LXXIX. *Per negotia*.—Owing to the affair of the people of Leptis, viz. their sending to Metellus. ‘*Per*,’ in the sense of *διά*, ‘on account of.’

*Pleræque Africæ*.—Kritz reads ‘*pleraque Africa*,’ which the grammarian Arusianus quotes as the reading in this passage.

*Habuit*.—Denoting a state or condition. Comp. Jug. c. 94, ‘*Toto die intentos bello Numidas habuerat*.’ ‘Had kept them,’ etc. See note on Cat. c. 4.

*Nuda gignentium*.—i.e. Φυτῶν.

*Philænis*.—Comp. c. 19, for ‘*Philænōn aræ*,’ the pillars of the Philæni. Comp. Curt. ix. 3, for an account of twelve pillars erected by Alexander at the furthest point of his advance in India. ‘*Erigi duodecim aras ex quadrato saxo, monumentum expeditionis suæ, jussit*.’

LXXX. *Ordines habere*.—i.q. Servare, observare.

*Proximos*.—i.q. Amicos. Comp. ‘*proximos familiaresque*,’ in Cat. c. 14.

*Bocchi*.—‘*Boccho*’ is a reading of several good manuscripts. Kritz observes : ‘*Male olim legebatur Boccho*; nam Jugurtham, Bocchi filiam habuisse in matrimonio patet ex Floro, iii. 17, et præcipue ex Plutarcho, in Sulla, c. 3, et in Mario, c. 10.’ Florus says, ‘*Fraudulentissimus ex fraude socii sui in insidias deductus est (Jugurtha)*.’

*Reges eō amplius*.—i.q. Sed reges, quo magis ceteros opibus superant, eo amplius uxores habent.

*Nulla obtinet*.—‘*Obtinet*’ must be taken absolutely, as in c. 17 above, ‘*Quæ plerosque obtinet*.’ Cic. de Rep. vi. 17, ‘*Subter medium fere regionem sol obtinet*.’

LXXXI. *Placitum*.—Agreeable, acceptable. Tacitus uses this particle, not generally found in prose, Ann. ii. 66 : ‘*Nec tamen Cæsar placitas semel artes mutavit*.’

*Fide data*, etc.—Because faith was pledged in primitive times by joining of hands.

*Profunda*.—Inexhaustible.

*Romanus*.—*sc.* ‘Imperator.’ So ‘Numida’ is used for ‘Jugurtha.’

*Imminuere*.—To spoil, disturb. Comp. Cic. Pro Rosc. Am. c. 38, ‘Nullum est officium . . . quod non ejus scelus imminuerit.’ Comp. also ‘id imminutum,’ c. 101.

LXXXII. *Ceterum*.—But on the contrary.

*Cognitis Mauris*.—When he had become fully acquainted with the Moors and their manner of fighting.

*Ex commodo*.—At an advantage.

*Supra bonum atque honestum*.—Beyond what was either profitable or manly.

*Vertebant*.—Set down as.

*Nobis satis cognitum*.—‘For our part we are satisfied in knowing,’ etc.

*Si ademta*, etc.—‘If, when the province had been taken away from him, it had been given to any other person than Marius.’

LXXXIII. *Alienam rem*.—‘Another person’s interest.’

*Periculo suo*.—‘At his own personal risk.’

*Incerta pro certis mutare*.—Comp. Cat. cc. 17, 41.

*Incipere*, etc.—Tac. Hist. iv. 69, ‘Sumi bellum etiam ab ignavis.’

*Deponi*.—Infinitive after ‘bellum,’ not after ‘licere.’

*Bellum intactum trahi*.—Here ‘intactum’ is a secondary or additional predication. The war was not only protracted, but nothing was done.

LXXXIV. *Cupientissima plebe*.—*i.e.* Quam maxime cupiente plebe.

With the most ardent good wishes on the part of the people.’

*Ei provinciam . . . jussit*.—With the accusative of the object, *jubere* signifies a resolution of the people. The person in whose favour the resolution is made is in the dative.

*Populus*.—Not used here in its limited sense of patricians, but of the people in the Comitia.

*Multus*.—*i.q.* Immodicus.

*Illis dolentia*.—Sorely grievous to them.

*Plerosque*, etc.—Comp. for this double construction, Cat. c. 33: ‘Plerique patriæ, sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes.’

*Militiae*.—Gen. loci. ‘On service,’ ‘in actual service.’

*Ambiendo*.—By canvassing in person.

*Plebe militia volenti*.—A Greek expression, found frequently in Latin writers. Comp. Livy, xxi. 50; Tac. Ann. i. 59; Jug. c. 84, ‘Uti militibus labor volentibus esset;’ Thuc. ii. 3, Τῷ πλήθει τῶν Πλαταιῶν οὐ βούλομένῳ ήν τῶν Ἀθηναῖων ἀφίστασθαι.

*Belli usum*.—*i.e.* ‘Ea quæ bello usui sunt.’ Comp. Cat. c. 33, ‘Antecapere quæ bello usui forent,’ with Jug. c. 43.

LXXXV. *Debere*.—Supply ‘mihi videtur’ from the preceding clause.

*Maximo beneficio*.—‘Signal favour.’ The gift of the consulate. Comp. c. 31, ‘Beneficia vestra penes optimos.’

*Eos*.—Emphatic: that stamp of men; men who are of a kind you would not wish to offend.

*Asperius*.—‘Is a more difficult task than you would imagine?’

*Ad hoc, alii*, etc.—Cicero has expressed the same sentiment, De Leg. Agrar. ii. 36, § 100: ‘Quemadmodum, quum petebam, nulli me vobis auctores generis mei commendarunt: sic, si quid deliquerero, nullæ sunt imagines quæ me a vobis deprecentur.’

*Nam alia infirma sunt*.—*i.q.* ‘Omnia hæc.’ Supply ‘præsidia.’ Some translators have considered that this sense is but a repetition of, ‘Mihi

spes omnes in memet sitæ,' immediately preceding, and consider Sallust's meaning to have been as follows: 'For, after all, the protection afforded by the deeds of forefathers, the resources of family influence, etc., is but a weak one, for have we not seen the ruin of a Posthumius Albinus, the recall of a Metellus, etc., notwithstanding their wealth and family importance.'

*Reipublicæ procedunt.*—Comp. Cat. c. 32; *i.q.* bene eveniunt.

*Locum.*—An occasion.

*Illi frustra sint.*—'Frusta' is not only used of things, as in c. 7, 'Neque incepit ullum frustra erat,' but also of persons. Comp. Plaut. Merc. iii. 1, 30, 'Nunc mulier ne tu frustra sis,' etc.; id. Amphitr. iii. 3, 20, 'Et servus et hera frustra sunt.'

*Ita . . . fui.*—*i.q.* 'Talis fui.' Comp. Cic. Pro Sulla, c. 7: 'Si ita sum.'

*In potestatis.*—While in office.

*Temperare.*—Supply 'sibi.' Comp. Plaut. Epid. i. 2, 8: 'Jam istoc probior es, quum in amore temperes.' Comp. 'temperarent victoriæ,' Cat. c. 11.

*In naturam vertit.*—As we say, 'Habit has made second nature.'

*Ex illo globo nobilitatis.*—From that pack of nobles. 'Globus' is a small band; used in this passage in an invidious sense. Comp. Vell. ii. 58: 'Hi una cum coniurationis globo Capitolium occupavere.'

*Prosapiæ.*—Another archaism used by Sallust. Cicero, in using it, says, 'Ut utamur veteri verbo, prosapiam' (Cic. De Univ. xi.). It was obsolete in Quintilian's time: comp. Inst. Orat. i. 6. Mr. Merivale derives it from 'supo,' or 'disupo,' it being a figure derived from the out-spreading branches of a tree. Transl. 'Of ancient lineage.'

*Nullius stipendii.*—'And have seen no service,' literally, 'have received no pay.'

*Imperare jussistis.*—'Imperatorem' is a reading of some MSS. which Kritz adopts, comparing Liv. i. 17, 'Quem populus regem jussisset'; id. i. 22, 'Inde Tullum Hostilium regem populus jussit'; id. iii. 30, 'Tribunos juberent.' Comp. also the phrase, 'ei jubere provinciam,' in c. 84.

*Præpôsteri.*—Who reverse the order of things; men who put the cart before the horse.

*Nam gerere, etc.*—What he means to say is, that necessarily the discharge of the duties of an office must succeed the appointment to that office; but, nevertheless, all qualities necessary and serviceable for that discharge must be acquired before the appointment.

*Illi litteris.*—Kritz compares Cic. Pro Font. xv.: 'C. Marius, P. Didius, Q. Catulus, non litteris homines ad rei militaris scientiam, sed rebus gestis ac victoriis eruditæ.' On the other side, Cicero, in his eulogy on L. Lucullus (Acad. ii. 1), commends that General for having made himself acquainted with the theory, before he was called to the practice, of the art of war.

*Fortissimum quemque generosissimum.*—Comp. Juv. Sat. viii. 20, 'Nobilitas sola atque unica virtus,' with a poet of our own day:—

' Howe'er it be, it seems to me

'T is only noble to be good;

Kind hearts are more than coronets,

And simple faith than Norman blood.'

*Faciant idem majoribus suis.*—Comp. 'quid intra mœnia deprehensis hostibus faciat,' in Cat. c. 52; 'idem fit ceteris,' Cat. c. 55.

*Vestros.*—The honours in your gift.

*Hos.*—These same honours.

*In conscientiam duceret.*—i.e. Conscientiam malam. ‘Should put down as consciousness of guilt.’ Comp. ‘Quam rem alii in superbiam vertebant,’ 82 above; ‘Omnia in virtutem trahebantur,’ c. 92.

*Militaria dona.*—Comp. Gellius, Noct. Att. ii. 11, for an account of these.—*Hastas.* sc. ‘Hastæ puræ,’ having no iron head.—*Vexillum*, a reamer attached to a spear. Kritz enumerates among the *alia m. d.*, torques, ‘catenæ,’ chains; ‘armillæ,’ bracelets; ‘fibulæ,’ clasps; ‘coronæ,’ chaplets.

*Parum id facio.*—I make little account of that; I take little pains about that.

*Neque litteras Græcas didici.*—Comp. Plut. Vit. Marii, c. 2, and Epist. ad Cæsarem, de Ord. Rep.: ‘Quippe qui domi libertatem suam per inertiam amiserint, censesne eorum præceptis imperium haberi posse?’

*Histrionem.*—Comp. Liv. xxxix. 6.

*Habeo.*—i.q. ‘Possideo’ = keep in my pay or service.

*Munditias.*—Compare, for the sentiment, Liv. xxxiv. 7: ‘Munditiæ et ornatus et cultus, hæc fœminarum insignia sunt; hunc mundum muliebrem appellantur majores nostri.’ Comp. Hor. i. 5, 5, ‘Simplex munditiis.’

*Ament, potent.*—So ‘amare, potare,’ Cat. c. 11.

*Verum non est ita.*—‘Not a bit of it.’

*Ereptum eunt.*—‘Then they seek to snatch away.’

*Avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam.*—Thus Sallust characterizes the respective vices of Bestia, Albinus, and Metellus.

*Temeritate ducum.*—This may be taken of Bestia (c. 29), Albinus (c. 36), Aulus (c. 37), and even of Metellus (cc. 108, 61, 66).

*Geram.*—Comp. the commencement of c. 51: ‘Ut seque et exercitum more majorum gereret.’ ‘I will carry on your interests and my own.’

*Decebat.*—The indicative, says Kritz, is to be preferred here to the subjunctive, inasmuch as there is no indefiniteness in the second clause. He compares Cic. Pro Manil. xvii.: ‘Quodsi Romæ Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus atque mittendum.’

*Neque quisquam.*—This is imitated from Plato, Menex. cxx.: Οὐ γὰρ ἀθανάτους σφίσι παιδας εὑχονται γενέσθαι ἀλλ' ἄγαθοὺς καὶ εὐκλεεῖς. It is rather out of keeping with Marius’s professed ignorance of Greek above, to put a quotation from a Greek philosopher in his mouth.

LXXXVI. *Non more majorum*, etc.—Marius’s deviation from the ancient practice consisted in not convening the centuries in the Field of Mars, but permitting each man to present himself for enlistment as he would; also in not selecting his soldiers *chiefly* from the first five classes, but, on the contrary, mainly from the sixth class of proletarians, who paid no property-tax. The proletarians had provided soldiers for the State before this time, but had never formed the main body of the army. This was the first step in a most momentous revolution for Rome, since by this change a militia was turned into a standing army. ‘Plerosque’ is emphatic from its position.

*Bonorum.*—As we say, ‘respectable people;’ that is, that have a certain amount of property, and, consequently, an interest in the existing state of things. Compare Shakespeare’s Merchant of Venice, act 1, sc. 3 ‘Antonio is a good man,’ i.e. ‘he is sufficient.’

*Et homini.*—‘Et’ has the force of ‘et sane.’ Comp. Cic. De Leg. ii. 3 : ‘Præclare exigis, Quinte ; et tibi horum nihil deberi potest.’

*Neque.*—*i.q.* Et . . . non.

*Cum.*—When attended with.

LXXXVII. *Fortissimum*, etc.—These remarks seem general reflections on war more than on the particular campaign in question. The expression ‘armis, libertatem,’ etc., seems rather out of place in the present case. It is rather a fanciful description of the training of a raw soldiery to the dangers of warfare.

*Diversi.*—In opposite directions.’

LXXXVIII. *Contra spem suam.*—‘Contrary to his expectation.’

*Laetissimis animis.*—He was permitted to triumph, and took the name of Numidicus.

*Anteuenire.*—To get the start of him ; to anticipate.

*Armis exuerat.*—‘Armis exuere’ est aliquem ita vincere ut armis relictis vel abjectis fugiat. Cf. Liv. xxii. 21 ; Cæs. B. G. iii. 6.

*Gloriosa modo, neque*, etc.—‘Neque’ for ‘et non ;’ i.e. Gloriosa modo et non ejusmodi esse ut ad bellum patrandum pertinerent. ‘And not of a kind to bring the war to a close.’

*Belli patrandi.*—As ‘conservandæ libertatis,’ in Cat. c. 6. See note on that passage.

*Quæ viris*, etc.—‘Which in point of men or situation were convenient to the enemy, and therefore disadvantageous to himself.’—*Pro hostibus.* Comp. ‘Cuncta pro hostibus erant,’ Tac. Hist. iv. 78.

*Quo improvisus gravior accideret.*—‘That he might fall on Marius with greater weight because unexpected.’

*Solitus.*—*i.e.* Solitus sit.

LXXXIX. *In manus venturum.*—‘Would come to an engagement.’

*Valens.*—*i.e.* ‘Valens armis, viris atque loci asperitate.’ See below.

*Hercules Libys.*—Mr. Merivale says, ‘The Libyan Hercules, Melcarth, is the same as the Tyrian and Phœnician (Herod. ii. 24), the legendary discoverer and conqueror of Africa in Carthaginian mythology.’

*Infesta serpentibus.*—‘By reason of serpents.’ So ‘armis infestus.’

*Et.*—Emphatic : ‘And you must know.’

*Una modo.*—Supply ‘aqua.’

*Juxi aqua.*—‘An unfailing spring.’ Kritz and Dœderlein derive this adjective from ‘diu.’

*Agebatur.*—As if he had said the people and not the country of Africa.

XC. *Credo.*—As Sallust thinks, knowing Marius’s superstitious character.

*Arvo.*—Arable land.

*Laris.*—A town in this district, named *Laribus*, is mentioned by St. Augustine. Its site is unknown.

*Prædabundum.*—While engaged in a plundering excursion.

XCI. *Centurias*, of infantry.—*Turmas*, cavalry.

*Distribuerat.*—Kritz explains this pluperfect as showing that in Sallust’s mind the distribution of the skins was already effected before the process of making wine-skins began.

*Sexto die*, etc.—This is equivalent to ‘sesto die ex quo,’ six days after reaching the river. Comp. Cic. Ad Div. x. 23 : ‘Collegam triduo quum has dabam litteras expectabam ;’ xv. 14, ‘Multi anni sunt quum ille in aere meo est.’

*Ceterum.*—‘But for all that.’

*Coercitum*.—‘Quod coerceri potest.’ So ‘nihil infectum,’ in c. 76 (see note on that passage); Tac. Ann. iv. 30: ‘Delatores, genus hominum pœnis quidem nunquam satis coercitum.’

XCI. *Magnus et clarus . . . haberi*.—Comp. Cat. c. 52: ‘Cato clarus atque magnus habetur;’ Tac. Agric. xviii., ‘Clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola.’

*Trahebantur*.—This word can only be applied to the second clause, for, as Kritz observes, ‘Res per se laudabile non opus est trahi in laudem.’ For the construction, comp. c. 85: ‘In conscientiam ducere.’

*Socii*.—The inhabitants (natives) of the province.

*Igni corrumpit*.—‘Semet igni corrumpunt,’ c. 76.

*Non eadem*, etc.—Not so dangerous, but quite as difficult.

*Inter ceteram planitiem*.—‘When all around was level ground.’

*Administrare*.—Understand ‘operi.’ ‘Administrare’ and ‘administer’ are used specially of military operations. Comp. c. 76; Cæs. B. G. vii. 81.

XCI. *Ad summum montis*.—Comp. note on c. 37.

*Egressus est*.—Made his way up to the top. ‘Egredior,’ like ‘escendere,’ implies resistance and difficulty.

*Gignentium*.—Com. c. 79: ‘of the vegetable kingdom.’

*Eminentibus*.—Jutting out, projecting.

*Castelli planitiem perscribit*.—Kritz’s reading, ‘In castelli planitiem pervenit,’ sanctioned by a few manuscripts, gives perhaps the better sense; still it is not an unnatural thing to suppose that the Ligurian drew a rough and hasty sketch of the situation.

*Non temere*.—‘Not carelessly, thoughtlessly.’

*Quorum uti*, etc.—For ‘qui uti,’ by attraction. Comp. c. 95 below: ‘Sulla cum equitatu in castra venit, quos uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret, Romæ relictus erat,’ c. 102, ‘Marius Sullam et Manlium ire jubet. Qui quanquam acciti ibant tamen placuit verba facere.’

XCV. *Pergit*.—sc. Ligus.

*Qui centuriis præerant*.—It appears from this as if the dress of the ‘tubicines’ and ‘cornicines’ was light enough for the purpose. Many MSS. read, ‘Qui ascensuri erant.’ It does not appear that any common soldiers went with them, the whole band consisting of nine only.

*Offensa*.—‘When struck.’ Livy, vii. 36: ‘Offenso scuto, præbuit sonitum.’

*Potissimus*.—He rather than any other, i.e. he first of all.

*Digrediens*.—Stepping out of the way to let the others climb.

*Signa canere*.—For the full phrase, compare Cat. c. 59.

*Forte*.—i.q. ‘Fortuna,’ good luck.

XCV. *Quos*.—‘Equites,’ understood in ‘equitatus.’ Comp. c. 91, above: ‘Equitatus . . . his.’

*Visum est*.—The past tense, says Kritz, because he had conceived the design beforehand, and was now carrying it out. So c. 30, ‘Decere existimavi,’ etc.

*L. Sisenna (Cornelius)*.—He was a contemporary of Marius and Sulla, and wrote a history of the Social and Civil Wars down to the dictatorship of the latter. His work consisted of twelve volumes, of which about a hundred and fifty fragments remain in a very mutilated condition. See Cic. De Leg. i. 2; Brut. lxxvi.

*Familia prope jam extincta*, etc.—Kritz quotes Vell. ii. 17: ‘L. Corn. Sulla, natus familia nobili, sextus a Cornelio Rufino, qui bello Pyrrhi inter celeberrimos fuerat duces, quum familia ejus claritudo intermissa esset, diu

ita se gessit ut nullam petendi consulatum cogitationem habere videretur.' Comp. Plutarch, Sulla, c. 1.

*De uxore*.—For an account of Sulla and his five wives see Plut. Sull. c. 35. 'Uxore' would seem to be put generally for his married life, though of course it may refer to some act of perfidy to a particular wife.

*Felicissimo*.—Sulla assumed the title of *Felix* after his victory over the Samnites and Lucanians before the Colline Gate, b.c. 82. Mr. Keightley quotes, for the meaning of the word 'felicitas,' Cicero ap. Amm. Marc. xxi. 16: 'Neque enim quidquam aliud est felicitas nisi honestarum rerum prosperitas. Vel, ut alio modo definiam, felicitas est consiliorum fortuna adiutoria bonorum, quibus qui non utitur felix esse nullo pacto potest.'

XCVI. *Igitur*.—Sallust, when he wishes to resume the thread of his narrative, usually employs this conjunction. Comp. Cat. cc. 9, 17, 27, etc.

*In paucis tempestatisbus*—i.e. In a short space of time.

*Deberent*.—sc. Sibi.

*Prava ambitio*.—'A perverse ambition,' a seeking after honour by indirect means; in reference to Marius's conduct towards Metellus.

XCVII. *Dubium*.—Adjective used adverbially.

*Trahere*.—'Was deliberately weighing.' Comp. the phrase 'trahere cum animo,' used above.

*Simul . . . et*.—'At one and the same time.' Marius only knew of their approach when he saw them. So Tac. Ann. iv. 25: 'Simul cœptus dies et aderant in semisomnos.'

*Uti quosque fors congregaverat*.—'As chance had formed each into bands.'

*Pugna*, etc.—'The fight assumed the appearance rather of guerilla warfare than of a regular battle.'

*Numero*, etc.—i.e. *Numero plures erant*, 'were more numerous.' Comp. Cæs. Bell. Gall. i. 5: 'Equites numero plurimi e Gallia.'

*Veteres novique*.—Gerlach retains 'novique,' which certainly ill accords with what follows. Comp. c. 87: 'Sic brevi spatio,' etc.; to which passage probably may be attributed the introduction of the reading of our text. If we retain it, we must translate: 'Veterans as well as recruits, and therefore,' etc.

XCVIII. *Manu consulere*.—To give orders was impossible during the confusion; so Marius gave assistance to his soldiers by fighting by their side.

*Pro se*.—'On their side,' in *their* favour. Comp. note on c. 88, 'Pro hostibus.'

*Propinquos inter se*.—'Near one another.'

*Noctem agitare*.—'Agitare,' after Sallust's manner, for 'agere.'

*Neque minus*, etc.= 'et non minus.'—'And for the matter of that, the enemy were not a whit the less in a state of confusion.'

*Pleno gradu*.—Comp. Veget. i. 9: 'Militari gradu xx millia passuum horis quinque, duntaxat æstivis, conficienda sunt; pleno autem gradu, qui citiator est, xxiv millia peragenda sunt. Quicquid addideris jam cursus est cuius spatium non potest definiri.' Transl. 'In quick step,' in quick march.

*Quia non fugerent*.—sc. Exercitus suus.

XCIX. *Canere*.—sc. Tubicines.

*Per vigilias*.—'Owing to.' See note on c. 79.

*Portis erumpere*.—'Rushed out of the camp;' that is, out of such temporary 'munimenta' as the time allowed of and the place needed. See preceding chapter: 'Pauca munimenta quærebant.'

C. *Sed pariter*.—‘But to march in hollow square, as though in sight of the enemy.’ The baggage in this case was in the centre.

*Dextimos*.—‘The extreme right.’ Priscian speaks both of ‘dextimus’ and ‘sinistimus’ (iii. 3, § 19).

*Curabat*.—Obs. double construction with verb.

*Merentes*.—*sc.* Increpari.

*Item milites cogebat*.—*i.q.* Armatos esse atque intentos.

*Futurum*.—For ‘fore.’ Kritz refers for examples of this old usage to A. Gell. i. 7.

*Militibus volentibus*.—See note on c. 84, ‘Volenti.’

*Malo*.—In the sense of ‘poena.’ Ter. Adelph. i. 44, ‘Malo coactus qui suum officium facit;’ Liv. ii. 54; iv. 49; Senec. De Ira, i. 16.

*Nisi tamen*.—‘Unless the true reason were, after all, that he managed the affairs of the State equally well as if he had employed the harshest discipline.’

CI. *Citi*.—Adjective for adverb, as a secondary predicate. ‘At full speed.’

*Utique venturos*.—‘Would be equally likely to arrive,’ etc. Jugurtha sends out four detachments in four different directions, in the hope of one of them falling on the rear of the enemy.

*Ipse aliique*.—Sulla and the other leaders of the cavalry.

*Ceteri*.—Of the cavalry.

*Obtruncare*.—Used of cutting down by cavalry.

*Neque*.—For ‘quiique non adfuerant quos adversum ierat.’ Comp. Nep. Conon, ii. 2: ‘Hunc adversus Pharnabazus habitus est imperator.’

*Niti modo*.—*sc.* ‘Ad surgendum.’ This passage has been imitated by Tac. Agric. xxxvii.

CII. *Postea loci*.—See note on c. 63, ‘Post id locorum.’ So ‘interea loci.’

*Post diem quintum, quam*.—*i.e.* Die quinto postquam.

*Verba facere*.—‘They determined, notwithstanding they had come at the request of Bocchus, to open the proceedings themselves.’ After ‘placuit’ supply ‘Mario,’ for this course was doubtless pursued under his orders.

*Rex Bocche*.—So Sallust prefixes the title ‘King’ in Cat. c. 51, ‘Rege Perse;’ but it is unusual. Nor is it usual to commence a speech with the name of the person to whom it is addressed.

*Aliquando* = tandem aliquando, ‘at length.’

*Persequi*.—Where we should have expected ‘persequendi.’ Kritz gets over the difficulty by explaining ‘demeres necessitatem’ by ‘non cogeris.’

*Parentes*.—‘Subjects.’ See note on Jug. c. 2.

*Placuisse* is governed by ‘scilicet’ (scire licet). Comp. *infra*, c. 113, ‘Quae scilicet,’ etc.

*Unde vi Jugurtham expulerit*.—‘From which, as he said, he expelled Jugurtha.’ Sallust mentions nothing of this; it appears to have been an invention on the part of the King.

CIII. *Composito*.—‘Posito’ is more usual, *i.e.* ‘were settled.’ Sallust, however, frequently uses the compound for the simple verb, and *vice versâ*. Comp. ‘venerant,’ immediately below.

*Quo*.—For ‘cui,’ adv. loci. Comp. c. 66, above: ‘Vagenses quo Metellus presidium imposuerat.’

*Venerant*.—For ‘evenerant.’

*Licentiam*.—Absolute powers, full powers.

*Sine decore*.—Without the insignia of their office.

*Pro praetore.*—Metellus had taken Marius as his legatus, treated him with respect, and entrusted him with high command. It was to Marius that Metellus owed the loss of his command and his subsequent banishment. Marius, in his turn, was nurturing his greatest enemy [Sulla], the source of so much misery to him, and the future cause of his banishment.

*Largitio* always implies unfair dealing: it is best rendered by our word ‘treating.’

*Munificus*, etc.—‘No one was deemed liberal but was supposed to be well-intentioned to an equal extent.’ The giving of money was inseparably connected with kindly feeling on the part of the giver.

*Fautor, consultor, adsit.*—These are all legal terms. Mr. Keightley compares Cic. Planc. i., ‘Cum multos et bonos viros viderem esse fautores; Tac. Ann. vi. 10, ‘Sua exempla in consultores recidunt;’ Ter. Phorm. ii. 1, 85, ‘Inde ibo ad forum, atque aliquot mihi amicos advocabo, ad hanc rem qui adsent;’ Suet. Oct. lvi., ‘Adfuit et clientibus.’

*Benevolentiae.*—Dative of the object; *i.q.* ‘conciliandæ,’ likely to enlist the favour of the Romans.

*Docti.*—‘Instructed.’ This less usual sense of ‘doctus’ is found in cc. 12 and 51 above.

CIV. *Confecto quo intenderat*, etc.—‘Quo’ is ablative by attraction. Comp. Ter. Heaut. i. 1, 35, ‘Hac quidem causa qua dixi tibi;’ Hor. Sat. i. 6, 15, ‘Notante judice quo nosti populo.’ This construction is very common in Greek.

*Ea.*—Viz. the permission to proceed to Rome, and the granting the truce.

*Decernunt.*—Used absolutely.

*Silicet.*—Conveying an idea of pity for their ignorance.

*Deprecati sunt.*—*i.e.* Postquam deprecantes, dixerunt. ‘They pleaded as an excuse.’

*Delicti gratiam.*—The same expression occurs in Cato’s speech, Cat. c. 52.

CV. *Funditorum Balearium.*—‘Slingers from the Baleares.’ The modern Majorca, Minorca, and Iviça.

*Cohors Peligna.*—The Peligni, a people dwelling in the centre of Italy. Comp. Liv. xxv. 14; xliv. 40.

*Cum velitaribus armis.*—They wore a broad shield, and carried the Spanish sword and some light javelins. Comp. Liv. xxxi. 35; xxxviii. 21.

*Efficiebant.*—Rather a harsh use of the figure zeugma. ‘Made their numbers appear greater than they were in reality, and caused apprehension on the part of their enemies.’

*Intendere.*—Holding their javelins in attitude to throw.

CVI. *Cœnatos.*—Perfecti ex *jubet* verbo pendentis ea vis est, ut maxima celeritate imperatum se perfici velle, Sulla declarat.

*Apud.*—Implying the closest proximity Comp. Cic. Brut. xli.: ‘Sic enim existimo juris civilis magnum usum, e. apud Scævolam et apud multis fuisse.’ Comp. Jug. c. 24, ‘Apud vos,’ etc.

CVII. *Gerent.*—As if Sallust had wri en ‘hortabatur.’ Comp. c. 97 above, ‘mittit’ followed by ‘adduceret.’

*Cæcum corpus.*—‘The back.’ The blind side of the body. This expression is copied from Xen. Cyrop. iii. 3, § 45: Μωρὸν γὰρ, τὸ, κρατεῖν βουλομένους, τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἀσπλα καὶ ἄχειρα ταῦτα ἐνάντια τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας.

*Spes opesque.*—‘His future expectations and his present resources. Jugurtha is the nominative to ‘pateret.’—*Ejus*, Jugurtha.—*Suo patre*,

the speaker's father, Volux's father.—*Illum, Jugurtha.—Ipse filius, Volux himself.*

*Ut in tali negotio.*—‘Under the circumstances, for want of a better.’

**CVIII. Orator.**—*i.q. ‘Legatus.’* Varro, L. L. vii. 41: ‘Qui verba orationum haberet publice adversus eum quo legebatur, ab oratione orator dictus.’ Cic. De Clar. Orator. xiv.: ‘C. Fabricius ad Pyrrhum de captivis recuperandis missus est orator.’ Comp. Livy. i. 15; ii. 13; v. 15; Virg. Aen. vii. 153. Comp. also, c. 24 above, ‘Sæpe ad vos oratum.’

*Neu Jugurtha . . . gererentur.*—Kritz supplies ‘remoto’ before ‘quo,’ which gives an excellent sense. As it stands the passage is unintelligible. There is another alternative, to put ‘quin’ for ‘quo,’ which gives a meaning exactly the reverse.

*Punica fide.*—‘Punica fides’ was a proverbial expression for bad faith, as was ‘Attica fides’ for good faith. Comp. Liv. xxi. 4; xxv. 39; xlvi. 47.

*Adtinuisse.*—‘Kept in play, amused, or engaged.’

**CIX. Congressi.**—*i.e. Sulla and Bocchus.*

*Ambo in sua castra digressi.*—This shows to whom ‘congressi’ refers.

*Ex sententia.*—*sc. Animi.* Comp. c. 75 above. ‘Had an understanding with both parties.’ Plaut. Capt. ii. 2, 96: ‘Nec quenquam fideliores nec qui magis sit servus ex sententia.’

**CX. Aliis ultro.**—‘I went so far as to render assistance,’ etc.; or, as we say, ‘So far from needing the assistance of others, I actually,’ etc.

*Fuerit [pretium].*—Gerlach encloses ‘pretium’ in brackets. The MSS. vary so much that it is probably a gloss. Trans. ‘Be it my boast.’ Comp. Sil. Ital. xii. 695: ‘My task be it!’—

‘Fuerit delere Saguntum,  
Exæquare Alpes, imponere vincula sacro  
Eridano.’

*Fines meos.*—Comp. c. 102: ‘Nam partem Numidiæ, unde vi Romanos expulerit, jure belli suam factam,’ etc.

*Id omitto.*—‘I will let that alone,’ namely, defending those limits.

*Egrediar . . . intrare.*—These words belong properly to ‘fines;’ but he had used ‘flumen’ in the sense of ‘fines.’

**CXI. Pro se.**—In answer to Bocchus’s expressions of friendship.

*Patefecit . . . pollicetur.*—Observe the change of tenses.

*Non in gratiam, etc.*—Would not regard those promises as a cause why favour should be shown him.

*Quod, etc.*—Which more nearly concerned their interests than his own.

*Id adeo, etc.*—That was easy enough to do.

*In promptu.*—That which is brought out, which is at hand.

*Fatigatus.*—Importuned.

**CXII. Conditionibus.**—That is, with mutual stipulations, where each party made its demands or its concessions.

*Quæ imperarentur, facere.*—See Jug. cc. 46, 62, 77.

*Pacem conventam.*—These words are to be taken together, *i.e.* ‘pacem quæ convenisset.’

*In potestatem habuisset.*—This is the reading of the best MSS. in preference to ‘in sua potestate haberet.’ ‘In potestatem habere’ means, to receive and to hold in one’s power.

*Neque hominem, etc.*—Kritz thus explains the passage: ‘Hominem nobilem in hostium potestate non relictum iri, quippe qui non sua ignavia, sed ob rempublicam, in hostium potestatem incidisset.’

**CXIII.** *Idem ambobus polliceri.*—He promised Sulla that he would deliver up Jugurtha, Aspar that he would deliver up Sulla.

*Vultu corporis.*—His outward appearance.

*Qua scilicet*, etc.—‘Patefecisse’ is governed by ‘scilicet.’ See note on c. 102.

*Jugurtha Sullæ traditus est.*—Sulla considered the delivery of Jugurtha to be his *chef-d'œuvre*, and wore a signet-ring representing the scene.

**CXIV.** *Per idem tempus.*—‘In the following year.’ The defeat of Cæpion and the Consul Manlius took place in a.u. 649 (b.c. 105).

*Gallos.*—He means the Cimbri, who were Germans. Comp. Vell. ii. 12: ‘Effusa immanis vis Germanorum gentium, quibus nomen Cimbris ac Teutonis erat, quum Cæpionem Manliumque consules effugassent in Galliis.’ Cæpion was Proconsul.

*Illique*, etc.—The men of that age, down to our own day, have held this opinion, etc.

*Prona.*—*i.q.* Facilia, c. 80, ‘Id facilius proniusque.’

*Pro salute*, etc.—Supply ‘se’ from foregoing ‘suæ.’ Comp. c. 76, ‘Quam vitare posse celeritate putabat.’ Cicero says (De Off. i. 12): ‘Cum Cimbris bellum, ut cum inimicis gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret.’

*Consul absens.*—This violation of the law shows the extent of the apprehension felt at Rome. Marius was incapacitated also from suing for the consulship even had he not been in Numidia, inasmuch as he was a General waiting for a triumph, and so could not enter the city to canvass on the three successive nundinæ required by the law.

*Kalendis Januariis.*—On the day of entering his second consulship, b.c. 104, Jugurtha adorned the triumph of his conqueror. He was led with his two sons before the triumphal car, and afterwards cast into the Tullianum almost naked, and there left to starve. See Plut. Mar. c. 12. As he entered the prison he is reported to have said, ‘By Hercules, what a cold bath you have!’ He died on the sixth day after his imprisonment.

*Spes atque opes.*—Comp. c. 107.

THE END.

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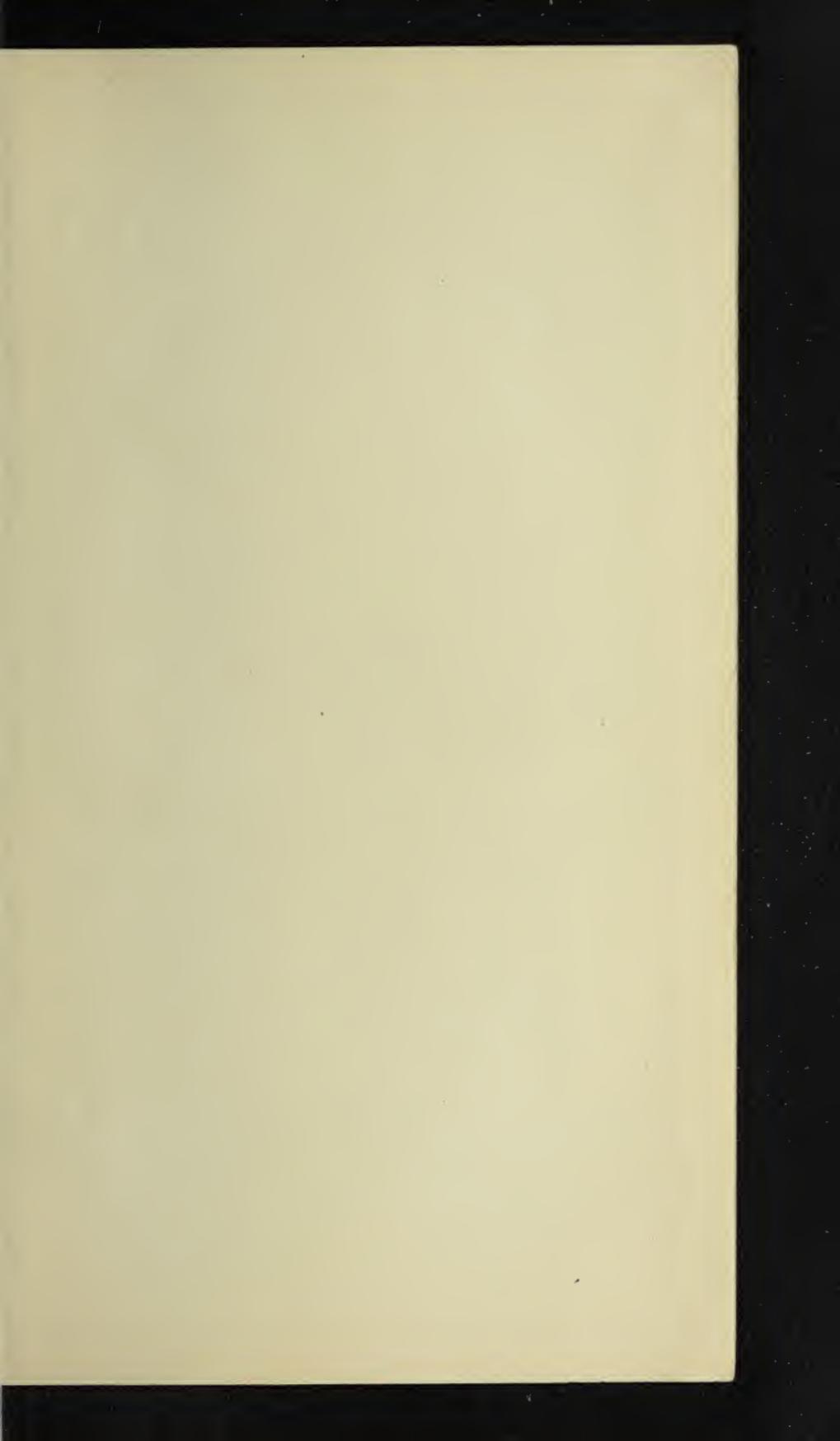
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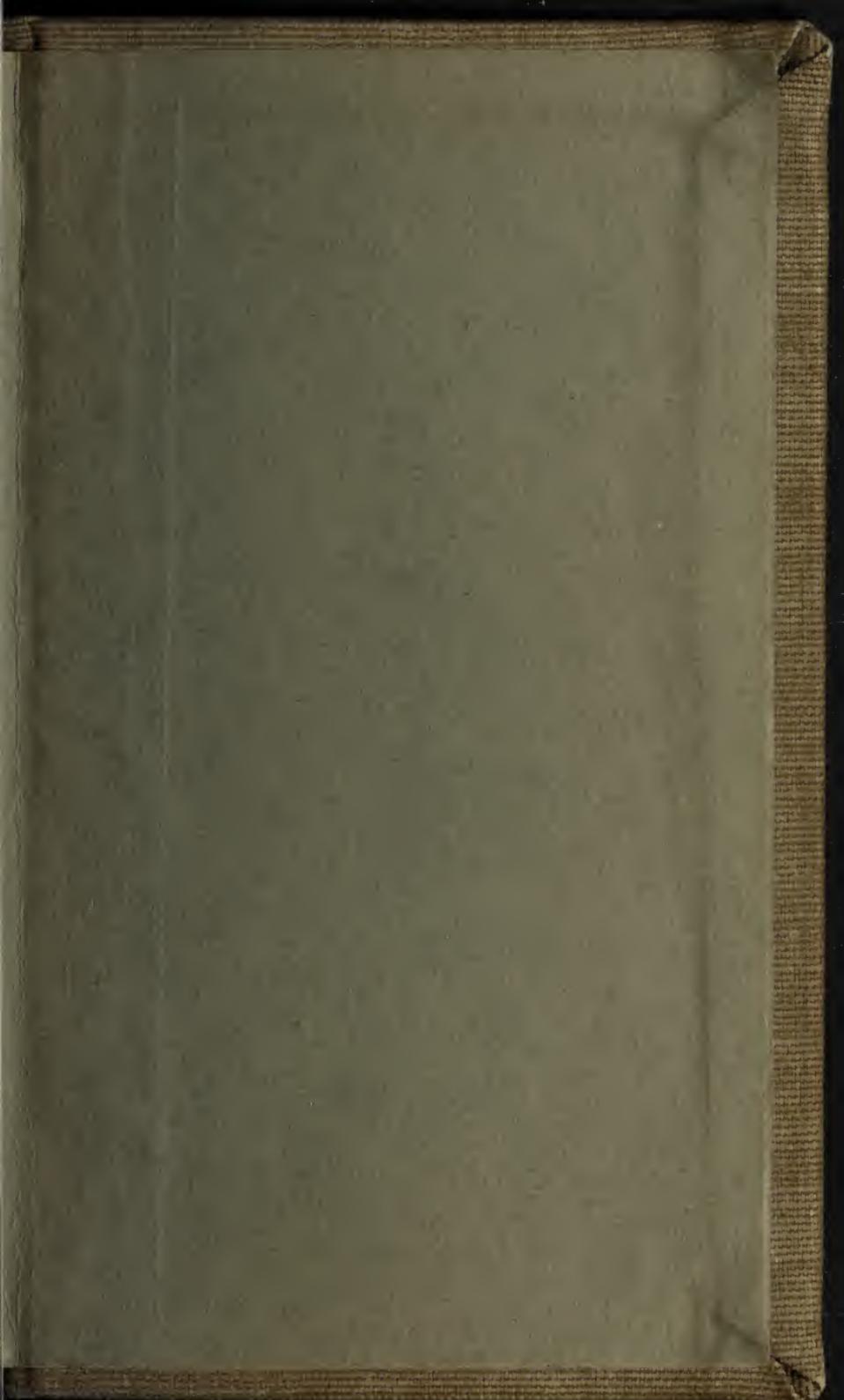
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